HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN BURMA
A.D. 1000—1300

by

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Original Inscriptions Collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura
ASB	Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma
ASI	Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India
B I & *B* II	Inscriptions copied from the Stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda. Volume I and II
BBHC	Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient
BRSFAP	Burma Research Society Fiftieth Anniversary Publications
Ep. Birm.	Epigraphia Birmanica
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica
Ep. Zey.	Epigraphia Zeylanica
GPC	Glass Palace Chronicle
GUBBS	Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States Part I, Volumes 1 and 2; Part II, Volumes 1, 2 and 3
Hmannan	The Hmannan Yazawin compiled in 1829
IA	Indian Antiquary
JA	Journal Asiatique
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
List.	A List of Inscriptions found in Burma
Pl.	Plate in five portfolios of *Inscriptions of Burma*, (Pl. 100^{10} means Plate No. 100 of Portfolio 1, *Inscriptions of Burma*, line 10)
PPA	Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava
PTS	Pali Text Society
REO	Revue de l'Extrême-Orient
SIP	Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan (Tin & Luce)
SSFACP	Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publications
TN	U Tun Nyein's Translation of *PPA*
UB I & II	Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Volumes 1 and 2
UTR (*Rgn*)	Rangoon University Teachers' Review

PLAN

ILLUSTRATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

TRANSLITERATION TABLE[1]

1. Consonants

က ka	စ ca	ဋ ṭa	တ ta	ပ pa	ယ ya	သ sa
ခ kha	ဆ cha	ဌ ṭha	ထ tha	ဖ pha	ရ ra	ဟ ha
ဂ ga	ဇ ja	ဍ ḍa	ဒ da	ဗ ba	la	ံ ṁ
ဃ gha	ဈ jha	ဎ ḍha	ဓ dha	ဘ bha	ḷa	အ a
င ṅa	ည ña	ဏ ṇa	န na	မ ma	ဝ wa	

For various forms of sa : ၐ śa, ၑ/ၑ ṣa, သ/သ sa, ဿ ssa

2. Vowels

အ a   အာ ā   ဣ i   ဤ ī   ဥ u   ဦ ū

ဧ e   ဧ် e'   ဧး e,

ဩ o   ဪ ò   ဩ ó   ဪ ô

3. Combinations

ိ i   ီ ī   ု u   ူ ū   ေ e   ော o   ို ui

ဲ ai   ော် au   ျ y   ြ r   ွ w   ှ h   ် or ်

က် k   င် ṅ   စ် c   တ် t   ပ် p   ည် ñ

4. Numerals

၁ 1   ၂ 2   ၃ 3   ၄ 4   ၅ 5   ၆ 6   ၇ 7   ၈ 8   ၉ 9   ၀ 0

4. Other signs (frequently used for land measure)

	1/2	ခွဲ	khwai
	1/4	စိတ်	cit
	1/8	စရွတ်	carwat
	3/4	ဟု/ဖု	hu or phu
	1/16	ပြည်	prañ
	1/32	လမယ်	lamay

1. See also *JBRS*, IV, ii, 136; *JBRS*, VI, ii, pp. 81–90 and *Ep. Birm*, I, i, pp. 6–12

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INTRODUCTION

ATTEMPTS had been made to check Burmese history by means of inscriptions as early as the eighteenth century. U Kala when compiling the *Great Chronicle* soon after the accession of King Taninganwe (1714–33) was the first to use them and Twinthin Mahasithu followed suit. Twinthin produced the *New Chronicle* in the late 18th century. In 1829, a committee of scholars compiled the *Glass Palace Chronicle* and thirteen inscriptions are mentioned in connection with our period. Their use of epigraphic evidence, however, was so meagre that it was almost negligible. When *Sīlavaṁsa* wrote the *Celebrated Chronicle* in ? 1520, he had only a few sentences on the Pagan dynasty but U Kala wrote nearly two hundred pages on it and the *Glass Palace Chronicle* was almost a copy of U Kala's chronicle. Of course they used local legends known as "thamaing" and many stories from *Jātaka* to enlarge *Sīlavaṁsa*'s account on Pagan. Naturally these incorporated stories have little or no value as history. Perhaps, the reason for such incorporation was the desire to describe a given episode with a similar and better known story from the *Jātaka* or the misinterpretation of the old records. For example, when a son of a junior queen was given the throne superseding the sons of senior queens, part of the Ramayana where Dasaratha appointed a junior son as heir to the throne was retold *mutatis mutandis*. When they misread or misinterpreted old records, they invented new stories to explain them. The name of a king Thaktawshe – Long Life – was misread Chaktawshe – Long Navel Cord – and as a result the story that the king when young cried incessantly so as to cause inflammation of the navel cord and thus acquired the nickname of Long Navel Cord. As all interpreters could not agree on all points of these stories, there were many stories with various versions so that as the popular saying goes, it becomes expedient to have a big stick near at hand when discussing Pagan history ; serious disputes and quarrels are bound to arise which often end in fights. Thus a new approach to medieval Burmese history is a long felt need.

The tendency of a modern scholar is to base everything on epigraphic evidence and to reconstruct the history of Burma 1044–1287 entirely on the strength of this evidence and in the course of this endeavour, to ignore, refute or support the time cherished stories told by the chroniclers wherever and whenever necessary. The wisdom of entirely relying on epigraphy might be challanged as epigraphs deal largely with religious matters and they only contain chance references to political, social and economic sides of life in those days. One should remember, however, that these stray references are contemporary and therefore much more reliable than the stories that come down to us through the ages by word of mouth until they were committed to writing in comparatively recent times. Thus there is the need of writing the history of medieval Burma in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The purpose of this thesis is to fulfil, in a small way, part of that task. The first three chapters deal with the political history where an entirely new picture of the Pagan monarchy is given. Early in his reign King *Aniruddha* conquered lower Burma and opened his country to a direct contact by sea with India. Mon culture was copied more or less slavishly at Pagan. Politically Mons lost their independence but culturally they were masters at Pagan. Their language was the official language at the Burmese court. Burmans must have been

Buddhists long before *Aniruddha*'s conquest of the delta but this conquest resulted in the import of Buddhism as practised in lower Burma. It is, however, very important to bear in mind that Buddhism thus imported was not exactly the *Theravāda* Buddhism as popularly alleged. It was far from pure. As Buddhism has nothing comparable with Brahmanical rituals for such occasions as coronation, palace construction, etc. Burmans felt it necessary to adopt some Brahmanical rites through the Mon. Their monks tolerated this adoption. There is no truth in the story that the Order was all for orthodoxy and the king helped them by suppressing the heretics called Ari. As a matter of fact, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the Pagan dynasty and it was never officially suppressed. To counteract their growing popularity, the orthodox monks allied themselves with the Sinhalese Order and strove to purify the Religion on Sinhalese lines which had naturally a very slow progress at first so that they achieved success only towards the end of the 15th century. The Ari sect was not as debased as described in the chronicles and it had nothing to do with the Tantric Buddhism. Perhaps, it is to offset the purity of orthodoxy that the Ari were depicted as black as black can be. Early in the reign of Kyanzittha, the Mon made a futile attempt to regain independence. The wise king probably offered a compromise by marrying his daughter to a scion of the fallen Mon royal family promising to make an heir of the off-spring of that union. Somehow or other the rebellion was suppressed. After Kyanzittha, Mon influence waned. It was partly due to the Sinhalase invasion of 1165. There was an interregnum of nine years (1165-74). Since Kyanzittha usurpers were on the Pagan throne. So in 1174 the *Aniruddha* line was restored. A burmanization movement set in and by the reign of *Cañsū* II (Narapatisithu, 1174-1211) Burmese became the official language of the country. Architectural style also changed. Pagodas of the early half of the dynasty mostly have cave-like hollows, dark and gloomy. Burmans put up wide windows, tall doors and shortened the passage leading to the interior so that the buildings had better light and sanitation. The Pagan Empire was at its zenith under *Cañsū* II. It extended from Ngachaunggyan (near Bhamo) in the north to Tavoy in the south or even as far south as ?Cape Salang for sometime and from the Salween River in the east to the Chin Hills in the west. It had a well organized form of government under five ministers who had to perform both civil and military duties. Customary Laws were codified under the name of Dhammatthat and the criminal procedure was known as *Amunwancā*. It seems that the Mon of the south were quite contented under the Burmese rule at least until the time of *Tarukpliy* (Tayokpyemin). The dangers of the empire usually came from the north and therefore the chief minister himself had to look after the northern frontier. *Cansū* II was succeeded by *Nātoṅmyā* (Nandaungmya) who was definitely not the youngest son of the king as mentioned in the chronicles. *Narasiṅgha-Uccanā* (Naratheinhka) was the next king. He was placed by the chronicles about sixty years earlier than his actual reign as predecessor of *Cañsū* II. After him, his brother *Klacwā* (Kyaswa) became king. He was not a weakling as suggested in the chronicles. He made a unique attempt to suppress crime in his realm by issuing an edict against theives, and to increase his revenue he confiscated much of the religious lands in his country. His successor *Uccanā* (Uzana) was not his son but his nephew. *Uccanā* died at Dala; probably he was assassinated. His elder son and successor *Maṅ Yaṅ* (Min Yin) also met the same fate. *Tarukpliy*, his half-brother finally became king. When the Mongols came, he took refuge in the hills west of Prome. *Syaṅ Disāpramuk*, (Shin Dithapamauk) a reverend monk was sent on a peace mission to Peking in 1285. *Disāpramuk* was able to persuade the Great Khan to withdraw the invading

army and so the king returned to Pagan but was killed on the way. This is the political story of Burma during 1044–1287 told in the light of epigraphic evidence.

The Buddhism as practiced in those days was in general very similar to the one as practiced in Burma to-day with the exception that the Brahmanical influence was more felt than at the present day. When tracing the rise and development of the Buddhist monastic order various facts have been observed which upset some of the traditional beliefs of Burma. As mentioned above, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the dynasty and it was not a very debased form of religion as alleged. Another point of great interest is the presence of *bhikkhuni* – female ascetics – in the Order in those days. Most Burman to-day maintain that women were not allowed in the Order since A.D.456. The thesis ends with the architectural and social aspects of the period under survey in chapters nine and ten which are also of much importance as they aid the better understanding of the Religion in those days.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF BURMA 1044-1174

PAGAN is the first of the Burmese capitals if we accept that *Srīkṣetra* belongs to the Pyu and *Sañtwāy Prañ*[1] or Tagaung to the *Saw Kantū* (Thaks)[2] peoples. Therefore it is of great importance and interest, to trace the history of its existence. The city wall of Pagan is assumed to be the oldest extant monument of Pagan and C. Duroiselle dated it at A.D. 850. He said :

> ... the date of this wall is about 850 A.D., the year of the foundation of Pagan; it is still clearly visible, together with the moat, on three sides of the ancient city; the fourth side, which ran along the river bank, has disappeared owing to the encroachment of the river; on this side, a kind of bastion can be seen quite near to the Circuit House, and a few traces of the wall are seen here and there. Shin Mahākassapa, a celebrated *thera*, in the thirty stanzas concluding his Sahassaranisi Tīka, a commentary on the Mahābodhivaṁsa, which he wrote in 1174 A.D., gives a graphic description of Pagan; among other things he mentions that the walls had twelve gates, only one of these, the Sarabha gate is now extant.[3]

But in view of the fact that Burmans came into Burma in the 9th century A.D.[4] it would be too early to place the foundation of Pagan at 850. Anyhow, some religious buildings were found to be in existence prior to A.D. 1044.

Many of the pagodas at Pagan are obviously post-*Aniruddha* but there certainly were monuments, etc. which had been in existence since the foundation of the city. Excavations at the Petlaik pagoda, which is generally attributed to *Aniruddha* revealed some mouldings of older structure beneath. In this respect, Sir John Marshall remarked:

> This fact is of some interest, because it confirms a supposition already formed on other and stronger grounds that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagan before the reign of Anawrata and that that monarch was responsible not for the introduction but for the development of that religion in Upper Burma.[5]

Pagan is said to have been quite ancient even before the advent of *Aniruddha.*

The statement that Pagan was standing two centuries before the appearance of *Aniruddha* depends entirely on the chronicles. No inscription in Burma has been found yet to tell of the foundation of Pagan. The *Hmannan Yazawin* states that King Pyinbya (A.D. 846-78) built Pagan in A.D. 849[6] but King Thamoddarit settled as early as A.D. 107 at Yonhlukkyun[7]-

> identified with a site, now covered with cultivation, to the south of Taywindaung hill and about twelve miles to the south east of Pagan[8]

1. All old Burmese words from the inscriptions are spelt in accordance with the rules of transliteration given in page ii
2. G.H. Luce: "The Peoples of Burma 12th, 13th Century A.D." *Census of India*, 1931 Vol. XI, i, App. F. pp. 296-306 and *JBRS*, XLII, i, 52-74
3. Chas. Duroiselle: "The Nat Hlaung Kyaung, Pagan," *ASI*,1912-13, p.136, n. 3
4. This is the theory held by Professor G.H. Luce.
5. J.H.Marshall: "Exploration and Research", *ASI*, 1906-7, pp. 38-9
6. *Hmannan* para 124, *GPC*, p. 55
7. *Ibid.* para. 112, *GPC*, p. 28
8. *ASB*, 1915, p. 12

1 . U.P. Q.144. 1000 23-8-78.

He incorporated nineteen villages in the neighbourhood into his settlement. Unfortunately, except for the village of Ngaung-u we find no mention of the names of the other eighteen villages in the inscriptions. The 16th century *Celebrated Chronicle* of *Sīlavaṁsa* has a different story. According to him Burma was divided into two part, viz. (i) *Sunāparanta*[1] being lands north of the Irrawaddy and (ii) *Tambadīpa*, south of the Irrawaddy.[2] The Buddha in his life time visited *Sunāparanta* and stayed at a sandalwood monastery for seven days. During these seven days' sojourn he succeeded in converting 84,000 people. Henceforth Buddhism flourished in Burma. The city of *Srīkṣetra* was founded in 444 B.C. and it stood for six hundred years having twenty five kings. Then in A.D. 156, *Arimaddanā* (Pagan) was founded and it stood for one thousand one hundred and twenty eight years, i.e. until A.D.1284 and it had fifty kings before the Chinese invasion and five kings after it.[3] This story invites much criticism. The foundation of Pagan after the fall of *Srīkṣetra* in A.D. 156 is too early. The Great Shwezigon Inscription (A.D. 1186) mentions that *Srīkṣetra* was founded soon after the Lord's attainment of Nirvana and it stood until A.D.656.[4] Still, this date for the fall of *Srīkṣetra* and the rise of Pagan is early. According to the five-urn-inscription[5], a *Vikrama* dynasty was ruling at *Srīkṣetra* as late as A.D. 718 (if we assume that S.80 mentioned there is of the era that starts in A.D. 638). Three names, *Sūriyavikrama*, *Harivikrama* and *Sihavikrama* are mentioned successively as if to denote that they were grandfather, father and son occupying the throne of *Srīkeṣtra* in lineal descent. Unless they were local chiefs and just vassals of Pagan, as some might suggest, Pagan could not have been in existence in A.D. 718. Even as late as A.D. 801–2 a formal embassy to China via Nanchao was sent by the Pyu king.[6] Accordingly we may infer that whether the Pyu were by that time centred either at Hmawza or at Halingyi, they were still very important and had not been overshadowed by the Pagan kingdom. The Chinese references to the Pyu are largely about this embassy of A.D.801–2. The Pyu capital is described in detail save one important point - that of its location. Probably this Pyu capital was not Hmawza but further north in the dry zone. This capital and kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 832 by "Man rebels" who could be Nan-chao people themselves or some tribe under Nan-chao. There were further raids by these people into lower Burma in A.D. 835. In a list of Pyu towns and settlements (given by the Chinese) in A.D. 802, Pagan is not mentioned.[7] Therefore it is certain that Pagan was established sometime after the Nan-chao raids of A.D. 832-5. Thus, Pagan must have been founded after A.D. 832-5 but not as immediately as A.D. 849-50 nor as remote as the middle of the 11th century. It ought to be between the two. It is possible that Pagan was known to her eastern neighbours even in those far off days. A Chinese account (*Ch'ien Han Shu*) of the first century A.D. according to Gabriel Ferrand, mentioned a place called "Fu-kan-tu-lu" which he thinks is Pagan. He explains that "Fu-kan" is the phonetic equivalent of the "P'u-kan" in the later Chinese accounts like the *Ling wai tai ta*, the *Chu fan chih* and the *Sung shih.* But we must also bear in mind that

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1 "Sunaparanta is probably identical with Aparanta; the Burmese, however identify it with the country on the right bank of the Irrawaddy River, near Pagan (*Sāsanāvaṁsa*, Introd. p. ix)" Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. II. (1938). p. 1211

2. This north and south division is due to the fact that the Irrawaddy river, though its general course is from north to south, flows from east to west in the middle of Burma. North of the Irrawaddy apparently means the right bank of the great river, whereas the south is the left bank.

3. Silavamsa: *Rājawan kyoau* (*Celebrated Chronicle*) pp. 75-87

4. "The Great Shwezigon Inscription": *Ep. Birm.* I,ii,I. F14 (p.125)

5. C.O Blagden: "The 'Pyu' Inscriptions". *JBRS*, VII, ii, pp. 37-44

6. Tin and Luce: "Burma down to the fall of Pagan": *JBRS*, XXIX, iii, pp. 264-82

7. *Ibid*, p. 272

the text[1] speaks of the kingdom of "Fu-kan-tu-lu" (not "Fu-kan") and that the kingdom was in contact by sea with China. On this point, Professor G. H. Luce says:

> It would remove one of Ferrand's difficulties in this identification if for Fu-kan-tu-lu kingdom we read 'the kingdoms of Fu-kam and Tu-lu.' Indeed Shih-ku's gloss seems to indicate that he regarded them as two distinct places. On the other hand the theory has against it whatever weight we choose to attribute to the Burmese chronicles, which place the founding of Pagan, by King Pyinbya in 849 A.D.[2]

Two Cham inscriptions, which can be safely dated anterior to A.D.1050 mention ?"Pukam" slaves. The Po-Nagar Inscription[3] says that slaves of such nationalities as Cham, Khmer, Chinese, "Pukam" and Siamese, totalling fifty-five were dedicated to the Goddess Kāñyā. The first four lines of the Lomngoeu Inscription[4] "refer to the donations made to a temple, viz., utensils and Chinese, Siamese and Paganese slaves."[5] Border raids were frequent in those days and probably some Burmans were captured and taken away to Champa to become slaves there. This evidence tells us, at least, that even in times anterior to A.D. 1050, the name of Pagan was known to its eastern neighbours. But there are many names under which Pagan was known.

The variety of names for Pagan in the inscriptions give an interesting picture of Pagan and the lands immediately surrounding it. The classical name for Pagan is *Arimaddanapura* - The City of the Enemy Crusher, and early Mon and Burmese inscriptions frequently refer to the city by this name. It is also called by its native name which the Mon mentioned as *Pokām*[6] or *Pukām*[7] or *Bukām*.[8] The Burmese way of spelling this name is either *Pukam* or *Pukam*. The earliest mention of the name was in A.D.1093 in connection with *Thiluin Man*.

> He shall become King of the Law in the city of Pokām that is (otherwise) named Arimaddanapūr ...[9]

Of the land that surrounds Pagan, the Mon gave it the name of *Tattadesa*[10] - the Parched Land, which is the Dry Zone of Upper Burma or "at least the part thereof in which Pagan stands."[11] This name suggests that Pagan and its neighbourhood were, just as they are today, semi desert land of thorny scrubs. This rain shadow area in the middle of Burma cannot have been a wet forest land thick with undergrowth until the great temple builders appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries who completely deforested the area as their brick kilns demanded enormous supplies of firewood and turned it into a semi desert waste.[12] The monk *Disāprāmuk* who led the peace mission to China from Pagan in A.D.1285 called his country *Tambadipa* - Land

1. *JBRS*, XIV, ii, pp. 97-9, English translation of the text
2. G.H. Luce: "Fu-kan-tu-lu", *JBRS*, XIV, ii, p. 94
3. Aymonier: "Première étude sur les Inscriptions Tchames", *JA*, jan.-fév. 1891, pp.28-9; Finot: "Notes d' Epigraphic", *BEFEO*, III, p. 633
4. Finot: *Op. cit.*, p.634
5. R.C. Majumdar: *Champa* III, p. 209
6. *Ep.Birm.* I, ii, VI^{25}, tx 150, tr. 151; VIII A^{2}, tx 156, tr. 163, VIIIA^{10}, tx.157, tr.164; VIII B^{14}, tx.161, tr.167; VIII B^{20}, tx.162, tr.168
7. *Ibid.*, III, i, IX F^{15}, tx.19, tr.51; IX G^{19}, tx.22, tr.54
8. *Ibid.*, XI^{4}, tx.71, tr.72
9. *Ibid.*, I, ii, VI^{25}, tx.150, tr.151
10. *Ibid.*, I, ii, I F^{16}, tx.106, tr.125; I F^{21}, tr.125; I F^{34}, tr.125-6; I G^{25}, tr.127; H^{2}, tr.128
11. *Ibid.*, I, ii, p.125, n. 7
12. G.E.Harvey: *History of Burma*, p.16. See J.C.Mackenzie: "Climate in Burmese History", *JBRS*, III, pp. 40-6 and also *JBRS*, XXX, i, pp.289-90 and pp. 307-8, n. 38

of Copper.[1] Pagan ultimately became the core of the Burmese empire.

In the time of its power and splendour during the reign of *Cañsu* II[2] (1174-1211) the empire was recorded to extend as far as the River Salween in the east, Mount *Macchakiri* (Chin Hills) in the west, *Takoṅ* (Tagaung) and *Ṅa Choṅ Khyaṁ* (Ngasaunggyan) in the north and *Salaṅ Kre*(?), *Sacchitani*(?), etc. in the south.[3] Probably the outlying districts of the empire broke away as the central government lost grip for *Disāprāmuk* told the *Taruk* king (Kublai Khan) that his country *Tambadīpa*, was small and therefore of little importance save that Buddhism flourished there.[4] It is of importance to note that the Pagan expansion started only in the 11th century.

The empire grew in this way. At first local chiefs ruled the neighouring villages of Pagan and were addressed as *maṅ* (king).[5] Kyanzittha before he became king of Pagan was *maṅ* of *Thiluiṅ*, a village in Wundwin township. From among these *maṅ*, it seems that the *maṅ* of Pagan rose to power and made all other *maṅ* subject to his control. Thus he became *maṅkrī* - The Suppreme King. After the subjugation of the immediate surrouddings, it was but natural for the *maṅkrī* of Pagan to expand and acquire a *nuiṅṅaṁ* - the lands of conquest. The first *maṅkrī* who started the programme of expansion was *Aniruddha*. There are no inscriptions of Pagan dated anterior to *Aniruddha* and therefore it would not be far too wrong to begin the dynastic history with him.[6]

Aniruddha (?1044-?1077) although he was popularly known as Anawrathaminsaw gave his regnal title in pure Sanskrit form *Mahārajā Srī Aniruddha-deva*.[7] Seals of *Aniruddha* on terra-cotta votive tablets found in a wide range of area throughout Burma give a rough idea of the extent of his power Therefore it is of no mean importance, to go into a close study of these seals here.

A great number of seals were unearthed and very roughly they fall into two categories; (i) seals haveing Sanskrit inscriptions without mention of *Aniruddha* and (ii) seals bearing the name of *Aniruddha*. There is a strong suggestion that group one seals were imported from India and group two seals were made locally.[8] Regarding this Dr. Sten Konow's views[9] are worthy of note.

> Some votive tablets with a bilingual inscription in Sanskrit and Pali were also brought to light. They are evidently imitations of similar tablets deposited in Buddhist temples in India, especially in Bodh Gayā. The Burmese tablets are casts from a mould and the Sanskrit legend, which states that the tablet has been prepared by King Aniruddha must have been incised on the mould. On the lower rim of

1. Pl. 271[27, 30] (1285)
2. Narapatisithu of the chronicles.
3. Pl.19a[6-9] (1196). *Salaṅ Kre* probably is Cape Salang or Junk Ceylon.
4. Pl.271[30-31] (1285)
5. Pl.143a[16]
6. The only king before *Aniruddha* mentioned in the stone inscriptions was *Caw Rahan* who probably is Taungthugyimin or Nyaungu Sawrahan of the Chronicles. He does not seem to have been a heretic, as he was labelled in the chronicles; he built a *Sīma* on Mt. *Turaṅ*. Pl. 36[1] (1212)
7. Pl.568a[1-2]
8. *ASB*, 1915, p.16, para 43
9. L.Finot however refused to accept this view and explained the improbability of the moulds having been imported from India. Finot: "Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman", *JA*, juillet-aout, 1912, p.130 n.1.

> the tablet a Pali legend to the same effect has been incised by hand. The whole arrangement leads us to infer that the moulds have been prepared, with the Sanskrit legend, in India and that the Pali inscription has been subsequently added because Sanskrit was not understood. The tablets cannot, at any rate, be used to prove that Sanskrit was the language of the Buddhist Church in Burma before Pali was introduced. It has been urged that the form of the name Aniruddha instead of the usual Pali Anuruddha points in that direction. But supposing that the mould for the tablets was executed in India, Aniruddha would be the only possible from and the king's name, Anawrata, which can only be derived from Anuruddha and not from Aniruddha, proves, if anything, that the knowledge of Pali had penetrated sufficiently to influence the coining of personal names.1

The next point of discussion would be the description of these seals.

The seal has, generally a

> Buddha seated cross-legged with the right hand in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and the other lying in the laps, palm upwards, on a lotus-throne under a foliated arch supported on pillars and surmounted by a *hti.* Some leaves, picturing the Bo-tree, may be seen on each side on the crown of the arch beneath the *hti*; there are also, on each side of the Buddha, two stupas with an elongated ringed finial, ... which has become the distinctive finial of Burmese pagodas for well nigh a thousand years.2

Below this, is a Sanskrit (sometimes a mixed Pali and Sanskrit) inscription which runs :

> *Eso bhagavā mahārāja Sirī Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttatthaṁ sahatthe nevāti.*

> Desiring that he may be freed from Saṁsarā, the Great Prosperous King Aniruddha himself made this image of the Lord.

There are also some terra-cotta votive tablets with the seal of *Aniruddha* and a relief figure of the Buddha flanked on either side by *Avalokiteṣvara* and *Maitreya*.3 These seals, vary slightly in size and some details but all bear the name of *Aniruddha*. They are found in and around Pagan4 and in places as far north as Nwa-te-lè Ywa-haung (a mile from Nga-o on the Shweli) of Mongmit State5 and as far south as Twantè.6 They are also found at Tagaung,7 Meiktila,8 Minbu9 and Prome.10 A tablet found in the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw pagoda has an inscription in Pyu in addition to the name of *Aniruddha* and therefore it is thought that when Pagan power spread over Lower Burma, *Anirudhha* removed the relics from some old pagodas of *Srīksetra* to be reenshrined in his new pagodas. Anyhow, the wide extent of the find-

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1. Sten Konow: "Epigraphy" ; *ASI*, 1905-6, p. 170
2. Chas. Duroiselle: "Excavations at Pagan", *ASI*, 1926-7, pp. 162-3
3. Tablets found at Sameikshe, Meiktila; *ASI*, 1921-2, pp. 90-1
4. *ASI*, 1912-13, p.89; *ASB*, 1913, p.16; *ASB*, 1922, p. 44; *ASI*, 1926-7, pp. 162-3, 169; *ASI*,1928-9, p.111; *ASI* 1930-4, pp. 177, 178, 188; *ASB*, 1940-1, p. 32
5. *ASB*, 1948, pp. 8-9
6. *ASB*, 1915, pp. 14-7
7. *ASB*, 1916, pp. 37-40; *ASI* 1927, pp. 62-3
8. *ASB*, 1920, pp. 23-4; *ASB*, 1922, p. 10; *ASI*, 1936-7, p. 165
9. *ASB*, 1905-6, p. 10; *ASB*, 1911, p. 27; *ASB*, 1912, p. 19; *ASB*, 1913, p. 16
10. *ASI*, 1907-8, pp. 38-42; *ASI*, 1911-2, p. 144; *ASB*, 1912, p.13; *ASB*, 1913, p. 16

spots of these seals of *Aniruddha* strongly supports the fact that he was a king of great imperialistic designs and his power extended from places as far north as Mongmit to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. In an inscription dated A.D.1207, he was mentioned as *Cakkrawatiy Anuradhā*[1]- the Universal Monarch Anuruddha, which also shows that even in the esteem of the Burmans who lived in about a century after his death he was already a great conqueror. But his conquest of the delta is really a problem of much debate.[2]

We have the story of *Aniruddha*'s conquest of Thaton in 1057 thus :

> In 1601 A.B. and 419 S. (A.D. 1057), King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, brought a community of priests together with the Tipitaka (from *Rāmaññadesa*) and established the Religion in Arimaddanapurā, otherwise called Pugāma.[3]

So says the *Kalyāni* Inscription of *Rāmādhipati* (Dhammazedi A.D. 1480). It also gives a hint that this was possible only because the Mon king *Makuta* (*Manoharī* or *Manuhā*)[4] was very weak at that time. Unfortunately, no contemporary record is found relating to this memorable episode. The motive of that conquest, the tradition says, was purely religious. But it is also possible that *Aniruddha* originally marched against some trading settlements (Indian?) in the delta and "the sack of Thaton was an after-thought."[5] Another possible reason was that the Shan Yün were constantly annoying the Mon country and the Mon had invited intervention. It seems that he had "played the role of the lion who, called to intervene between two warring jackals, solved the difficulty by devouring both."[6] After this conquest. a deliberate effort was made to transplant a culture that was Mon into the centre of a new and vigorous but somewhat raw ethnic group that was Burman. As such, the results of this conquest were momentous for the Burmans.

The introduction of Mon civilization had a long term effect. Culturally the conquerors were conquered. History affords many parallels of such happy results. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the period, immediately after *Aniruddha*, are in the Mon language. It is needless to say that the Burmans learnt the art of writing from the Mon[7]. In architecture too, pagodas of that time like the Patothamya, Nagayon, Abeyadana, Gubyaukgyi, and Nanpaya are all of "Mon type".[8] Thus it will not be very far from the truth to say that after A.D. 1057, for a certain period until the time of *Cañsū II* (A.D. 1174) or until the death of *Thiluin*

1. Pl. 160a[6].
2. "The Siamese chronicles assert that he attacked Cambodia and ruled over most of what is now Siam, obtaining the Hinayana Buddhism, which he established as the official religion of Bagan from Nakorn Pat'om. But there would seem to be no historical basis for such assumptions." D.G.E. Hall: *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 124; See also H. G-Q. Wales: "Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition", *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 152–6
3. Taw Sein Ko: *The Kalyani Inscription*, (1892), p. 49
4. Pl. 358[5,39] Professor Luce says "In old Mon inscriptions and the oldest of old Burmese, the sign for *-u-* was usually hung from the middle vertical of *k* and not (as always since) from the vertical on the right. It seems that archaic *-ku-* was later misread as *-no-* and king MAKUTA as king MANOHA, a name afterwards corrupted, naturally enough, into Manohari and MANUHA,". See also *JBRS*, XXXII, i, p.89.
5. *Ep.Birm*, I, i, p. 6: C.O. Blagden suggests the existence of "flouris' ng Indian Settlements" in the delta. In view of the fact that there is no direct evidence to support this, it is very unlikely that there existed Indian settlements in the Irrawaddy delta. The presence of an Indian trading community in some towns is however possible.
6. G.H. Luce: "A Cambodian? Invasion of Lower Burma"; *JBRS*, XII, i, pp. 39–45
7. Luce: " Peoples ", *JBRS*, XLII, i, 64
8. G.H. Luce: "Burma's Debt to Pagan", *JBRS*, XXII, iii, p. 121, n. 3 and "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", *JBRS*, XXVI, i, 17

Man (A.D. 1113?),[1] allowing the time between 1113 and 1174 as the period of transition, the Burmese culture was more or less a copy of the Mon. In other words, 1057-1113 is the Mon period of Pagan culture. Apart fom this Mon culture, there is another important result of this conquest of the delta by *Aniruddha*. It gives for the first time to the Burmans, an opportunity to have a direct overseas contact with Ceylon and possibly India.

These contacts are mentioned only in the chronicles. Desiring to have a tooth-relic to be enshrined in the Shwezigon pagoda, *Aniruddha* sent a mission to Ceylon to ask for it.[2] The chronicles of Ceylon make no mention of this mission. But a relationship of completely another nature is mentioned in the *Cūlavaṁsa*.[3] The king of Ceylon, *Vijaya Bāhu* (1065-1120) [*Siri-singhabodhi*] was engaged in a series of war with the Cola of South India and so he sent a fleet with many presents to ask for help from the king of *Rāmañña*. But by virtue of conquest, *Aniruddha* was already the lord of *Rāmañña* and therefore the king from whom *Vijaya Bāhu* expected help was *Aniruddha*.[4] There is no mention of the date of this mission or the fulfilment of the request. But it might be sometime between 1060 and 1063 when *Vijaya Bāhu* was just a minor king trying to expel the Cola encroachments.[5] Another mission, this time for religious purposes, was sent in 1071 when *Vijaya Bāhu* asked *Aniruddha* to send monks to carry out a religious reformation in Ceylon.[6] This is worthy of notice as it opens for the first time a close religious alliance between Burma and Ceylon which was to become more important towards the end of the Pagan dynasty. King *Aniruddha* was succeeded by his son *Man Lulan* i.e. Sawlu in A.D. ?1077.

Sawlu of the chronicles is recorded in the inscriptions as *Man Lulan* - the Young King. An inscription dated S. 573, Waxing 9 of *Namkā*, Tuesday[7] (21 July 1211) mentions *Man Lulan* ordering an enquiry into a religious dedication. Another Pali inscription not dated, found at Mergui[8], bears the name of a king of Pagan and judging from the type of script, it belongs to the early period of Pagan. The regnal title of the donor mentioned in it is entirely different from the form of titles adopted by *Thiluin Man* and his successors. Thus, a suggestion arises that this title *Śrī Bajrābharaṇatribhūpati* - The Victorious Bearer of the Thunderbolt, Lord of the Three Worlds, might belong to *Man Lulan*. It was in the time of his reign that the Mon whom his father probably subjugated, tried for the first time but unsuccessfully to free themselves from the Burmese rule. It was probably the Ngayamankan

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1. *Rājakumār* (Myazedi) Inscription says that in A.B. 1628 *Thiluin Man* became king of Pagan and after a reign of 28 years, he was 'sick unto death'. It seems that he never survived that sickness. This gives us A.B. 1656 or A.D. 1112 as the last years of his reign. But "*List* 73 inscription" tells differently. It says that in S. 513 *Cañsū* I (*Thiluin Man*'s successor) was 63 years old and was on the throne for 37 years. Thus, S. 450 was the year of his birth and S. 476 (A.D. 1114) his accession or the end of his predecessor. Professor Luce splits the difference and dates his death provisionally in A.D. 1113.

2. *Hmannan*, para. 135a; *GPC*, pp. 88–91

3. Wijesiṇha: *Mahāvaṁsa* II, p. 81 (1909) and Wilhem Geiger: *Cūlavaṁsa* I, p. 202

4. *ASB*, 1920, p. 17, para. 34

5 & 6. *Op. cit.* pp. 89–90. The date 1071 is fixed on the authority of the *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* edited by Muller, p. 61. See also *Epigraphia Zeylenica* II, pp. 246, 253–4; Rāsanāyagan Mudaḷiyār: "Vijaya Bāhu's Inscription at Polannaruwa", *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXIX, 1924; Wijesiṇha: *Op. cit.* pp. 89–90 and Geiger, *Op. cit.*, p. 214

7. Pl. 60a3. All dates in the Christian Era (Julian) are worked out from the tables by Sir A. Irwin: "The Elements of the Burmese Calandar from A.D. 639–1752", *Indian Antiquary*, 1910, pp. 289–315

8. Pl. 548a 1

rebellion.[1] This *Man Lulan* was succeeded by *Thiluin Man* in 1084.[2]

A great deal about this great king is known from inscriptions belonging to his reign which are in the Mon language. The name Kyanzittha seems to be the modernized form of *Kalancacsā*[3] - ? the Officer Prince.[4] But in the inscriptions he is *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* - the King of *Thiluiṅ* or *Thiluiṅ Syaṅ* - The Lord of *Thiluiṅ*. His regnal title is *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* - The Victorious Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds. The Great Shwezigon Inscription[5] says that in A.B. 1630, *Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja* became king in *Arimaddanapura* and upheld the Buddhist religion to its utmost benefit. That great personage, before he was king at Pagan, was in a previous existence also the founder of the exalted city of *Śrīkṣetra.* He was at that time known as *Bisnū* (Vishnu), the sage and he received help from *Gavaṁpati, Indra, Bissukarmma* and *Katakarmma* in building that city. In the words of *Gavaṁpati*, the inscription gives a lengthy account in praise of the achievements of King *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya*, the reincarnated Vishnu. This is the royal propaganda, wherein we find some vague suggestions of an insurrection, its suppression, and reconstruction and rehabilitation works carried out by the king after the trouble. Probably, this is about the Ngayamankan Rebellion. The *Mahāthera* with *Saṅ Ariy* - the Order, helped and advised the king in the administration of justice and the extirpation of heresy. But the panegyric of the king is so high that he almost becomes a mythical hero. The inscription then continues to give the promises of *Bisnū*. He said that if ever he were to become a king at Pagan, he would rule righteously, conscientiously. That king would act as the chief bull ever leading the herd to better and sweeter pastures. He would also recognise the ancient rights of all local chiefs. Here again, in the words of *Bisnū*, we find *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* promising his beloved people that he would be just and humane and he would bring prosperity to all. The Myagan Inscription[6] gives an addition to his regnal title. It becomes *Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarājarājādhirājaparamisvarabalacakkrāvar* - The Fortunate Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds of Men, Devas, and Brahmans, King of Law, Excellent King of Kings, Lord Supreme, Mighty Universal Monarch. This royal bombast is supported by more laudatory phrases than in the previous inscriptions. The Prome Shwezandaw Inscription (1)[7] dated S. 455 Waxing . . of *Srāwan* ? (3 June 1093) mentions that *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* belongs to the *ādiccavaṁsa* - the solar race in paternal descent. Another inscription[8] says that "his mother (being) born of the Vilva line, his father of the Solar race." It is interesting to note that the king never thought of claiming any relationship with *Aniruddha* though all chronicles and one post-Pagan inscription[9] maintain that *Aniruddha* was his father. Let us now discuss his acts of merit.

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1. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, p. 116, n. 11. It is only a vague information but as there was no instance of enemies threatening the peace of the city (Pagan) during the reigning years of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*, it must have occured before his accession.
2. *Rājakumār* (Myazedi) Inscription [1-2]. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, B, pp. 96 and 115. The Great Shwezigon inscription gives A.B.1628 as the beginning of Kyanzittha's reign. The difference is explained as A.B. 1628 (A.D.1084) being the year of accession and A.B. 1630 (A.D. 1086) being the year of Abhiseka (coronation).
3. *List* 33[2] (*B* II 903) and *List* 50 (*A* 19)
4. *Kalan* means an officer (see *JBRS*, XXX, i, p. 305, n. 25). *Cacsā* in the light of Ava period inscriptions probably means a prince on administrative duty.
5. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, pp. 90–129
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-43
7. *Ibid.*, p. 151
8. *Ibid.*, p. 167
9. Hledauk Inscription of Taungpyon, *List* 50[1], (*A* 19), *SIP*, p. 4

The Myagan inscription already mentioned records the construction of a reservoir for irrigation purposes by order of *Thiluin Man*. It shows how much the King was intent upon the welfare of his people. This record has also a vague suggestion of *Thiluin Man*'s effort to bring about a carefully copied set of the Buddhist scriptures. The Alampagan inscription[1] is substantially the copy of the Myagan inscription except that it records the digging of a tank by order of *Thiluin Man*. The Ayetthama Hill inscription[2] records the repair of a pagoda in the Mon country by order of the king. It bears the date of S. 460 waxing 13 of *Vaiśākha* (Friday, 16 April 1098). Another inscription[3] tells us many interesting things done by the king such as the erection of a religious building, the copying of the Buddhist scriptures, the sending of a mission to Bodh Gaya to effect repairs at *Vijrāsana*—the seat of Adamant, the offer of the four necessities to the monks, his friendship with a ?Cola prince, his request to all his people to live in accordance with the laws of the religion and his generous treatment to birds and beasts. About a decade before his death he built a new palace, undoubtedly of wood, as we can find no remains of it now.[4] The king left an inscription giving full details of the construction of his palace.

The Tharaba Gate inscription or the Palace inscription[5] gives precisely the time and date of planning, building and rituals in connection with the building, but no year date is given. According to Dr. Sewell

> the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.[6]

Probably it extended from December of 1101 to April of 1102. Two interesting things in this account are, firstly, the great importance attached to Vaisnavite rituals at the time when Buddhism in its pure form was supposed to be thriving and secondly, high places of honour given to Mon notables. The Naga worship was mentioned twice.[7] Another point equally interesting is the first mention on the epigraphs of the word *Mirmā* (Burmans)[8] side by side with *Rmeñ* (Mon) and *Tircul* (?Pyu).[9] Unfortunately none of these inscriptions mention the king's services as a senior officer of *Aniruddha* and his love affairs which are quite popular with the chroniclers.

The *Rājakumār* inscription[10] however gives us the last scene of his Thambula story. It reveals the pathetic act of a disinherited son by his most beloved wife approaching his father's

1. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, p. 143
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-7: see also *JBRS*, XXVIII, i, p. 92. This inscription, now in the Rangoon University Library has been traced as originally belonging to the Myatheindan Pagoda (Kyāk Talañ) at Ayetthama Hill (2 ½ miles from Mayangon Station or Taungsun Station on the Moulmein railway line.)
3. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, pp. 153-68. The Prome Shwesandaw Inscription (III)
4. Pagan had a very dry climate and wooden buildings might have been the cause of many fires. Another palace was constructed in 1204 (Pl. 27[1]). A great fire that razed the whole city to ashes occured in 1225 (Pl. 122a[2]). The building of palaces in wood is not a practice confined to Burma alone. It is spread all over S.E. Asia. See C. Duroiselle: *Guide to the Palace at Mandalay*, (1925) p. 6
5. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 1-68
6. *Ibid.*, p. 3
7. *Ibid.*, IX H[10] p. 56 and H[15] p. 57
8. *Ibid.*, IX B[42] p. 42
9. Luce : "Peoples", *JBRS*, XLII, i, 55
10. Popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, *Ep. Birm.* I, i.

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death-bed to report his meritorious deeds done on behalf of the father, who in reply exclaimed *thic ā thic ā* - Well done! Well done![1] Prince *Rājakumār* was the son of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* and Thambula or *Trilokavataṁsikā* - The Ornament of the Three Worlds. Why *Rājakumār* was not given the throne after his father's death is a problem indeed. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* gives this answer. *Maṅ Lulaṅ* (Sawlu) on the advice of his counsellors recalled *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* (Kyanzittha) soon after his accession. *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* left Thambula who was with child, commanding her to bring him the child when born if it be a boy. *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* became king later and married his daughter to Sawyun, son of *Maṅ Lulaṅ*. A young prince was born of this union and the king made this grandson his heir. The rightful heir i.e. son of Thambula came late (two years after his accession to the throne) and therefore the king could only make him a governor.[2] Without giving the year in which the grandson was born, the story appears quite sound. The epigraphic evidence refutes the story.

The king ascended the throne in A.D. 1084 and in A.D. 1086 his son *Rājakumār* who was then seven years old appeared at the court. The grandson, who was made heir, was born in A.D. 1088 according to "List 73"[3] inscription. Therefore it is impossible to believe the story that *Cañsū* I being made heir was accidental. It seems that political expediency required the king to do that deliberately. An inscription[4] the script of which does not seem to be contemporary suggests an altogether new theory. It says that *Asawatdhammā* son of *Sudhammarac* (son of ? *Makuta*), planned a rebellion but King *Narapaticañsū* appeased him by promising to marry his own daughter *Rhweimsañ* to *Nāgasman*: the son of *Asawatdhammā*. With this marriage tie, he peacefully and wisely averted the danger of a Mon rebellion. To later inscription writers, any king of Pagan can be *Narapaticañsū* and therefore it is not impossible to take this king as *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*. He might have contracted this marriage tie between his daughter and the great grandson of *Makuta* (Manuha) during the Ngayamankan rebellion and even promised the throne to the offspring of that union so that both Mon and Burman could accept the next king without question. If that is true, *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* must be considered as the most statesman-like of all the Burmese kings. But it was unpleasant for later Burman patriots to remember this and therefore they probably tried to forget it. Later Burmans also tried successfully to reverse his language policy.

He used the Mon language in all his inscriptions and this strongly suggests that he used Mon as the official language of his kingdom and with this, he hoped that the two peoples would soon forget their racial differences and become a single nation as Saxons and Normans mixed freely and became the English nation. Anyhow this language policy did not survive for long its patron. There was a transition period from 1113 to A.D. 1174 during which time the use of Mon language was gradually replaced by urmese until the time of *Cañsū* II (1174-1211) when the Mon language was no longer used. *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* was succeeded by his grandson *Cañsū* I who was popularly known as Alaungsithu.

As mentioned above, *Cañsū* I probably was the son of the Mon prince *Nāgasman*: and the Burmese princess *Rhweimsañ*. He was born in A.D. 1088[5] and ascended the

1. The *Rājakumār* Inscription Mon face, line 17, *Ep. Birm.* I, i, p. 55
2. *Hmannan*, paras. 138 and 139; *GPC*, pp. 100 and 108
3. *List* 73^{1-2} (*A* 28) mentions that this successor of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* was 63 years old in S. 513. Therefore his year of birth was S. 450 (A.D. 1088).
4. *List* 346 (*A* 8). This insription is dated A.D. 1274
5. List 73^{1-2} (*A* 28) and Pl. 113^{1-2}

throne in A.D. 1113.[1] His name *Cañsū* is the burmanised *Jayasūra* - The Victorious Hero.[2] In post-Pagan times, he is usually mentioned as Alaungsithu - The Furture Buddha, The Victorious Hero. His other names were *Sak tawrhañ*[3] - Long Life, *Rhuykū Dāyakā*[4] - Donor of the Shwegu Temple, and *Śrī Tibhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja*[5] - Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.[5] The name *Saktawrhañ* implies that he lived long but we cannot tell with certainty the year of his death. According to the chronicles he ruled until S. 529 (A.D. 1167).[6] But the Dhammayangyi inscription[7] tells us that his successor had finished building the Dhammayangyi pagoda in A.D. 1165 and therefore his rule terminated one or two years earlier—probably in A.D. 1163. If so, he reigned for fifty years and died at the age of seventy five. He left a very important record.

This most interesting record of *Cañsū* I's is a Pali-Sanskrit inscription of two faces set in the wall of the Shwegugyi temple of Pagan (A.D. 1131).[8] Except for the date which is written in Sanskrit, the rest of the inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

> It is such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the cannonical Mettasuttā, or the Dicourse on Love.[9]

The last stanza of the inscription mentions the name of the donor and the dates of the beginning and completion of the shrine.

> Thus the writing on this stone is made by the King Śrī Tibuvanādityadhammarāja, who is endowed with mindfulness, firmness, intelligence, character, who is a seeker of the constituents of Nirvana. Prosperity! The cave[10] was begun on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśakha (when the moon was) in conjunction with the constellation Uttarāsadhaka and (the sun was) in Leo in Śaka year 1053. This cave was completed on the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Margaśira on (Thursday) at the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Vaiśākha in 1053 Śaka year.[11]

This is the one and only instance of the Śaka Era of A.D. 78 being mentioned in the Pagan inscriptions. The dates correspond to Sunday 17 May 1131 and Thursday 17 December 1131.[12]

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1. See abvoe, p. 10, n. 3
2. Pl. 365a[1]
3. Pl. 60a[4]
4. Pl. 311b[18]
5. Pl. 1[18]; Pl. 2[41]
6. *GPC*, p. 132
7. Pl. 4 & 5 (1165)
8. Pl. 1–2
9. *JBRS*, X, ii, p. 67
10. The term "cave" used here means an artificial cave and not a "cave–temple" like Ajanta of India. Perhaps, "hollow–pagoda" is a better translation for the Burmese word *kū*. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p.45
11. *JBRS*, XXII, iii, p. 151
12. In checking up the dates and rendering them into equivilents in the Christian Era, with the help of Sir Alfred Irwin's Charts (*IA*, 1910, pp. 289–315), I find that second Tagu is used instead of second Wazo in this intercalary year of S. 493.

The king is alleged to be a great traveller[1] even visiting places far beyond Burma by land and sea but we find no mention of his travels in the inscriptions. As mentioned above, he lived probably for seventy five years and died in A.D. 1163. The Mount Thetso inscription[2] gives a list of early Pagan kings and thus we are able to tell who succeeded *Cañsū* I.

It records that on S. 573, waxing 9 of *Namka* (Tuesday 21 July 1211), the daughter of *Marhak Sañ Ñā Sok Sañ*, the clerk of *Kaṁkun*, poured water and dedicated to the pagoda the land which was exempted from revenue as a result of a legal enquiry of *Mañ Lulañ*. Then it continues:

> ...*Thiluiṅ Mañ lak thak le lwat e' / Sak Taw Rhañ lak thak le lwat e'. / Īm Taw Syañ lak thak le lwat e' / Narapti lak thak le lwat e' / ...*[2]

> It was exempted also in the reign of *Thiluiṅ Mañ*; also exempted in the reign of *Sak Taw Rhañ* (*Cañsū* I); also exempted in the reign of *Īm Taw Syañ* (Kalagya); and also exempted in the reign of *Narapatī* (*Cañsū* II).

True to tradition *Nātoṅmyā* after becoming king on Thursday 10 waxing of *Tuiṅslañ*, S. 573 (18 August 1211)[3] also granted the same exemption. Thus according to this inscription, *Cañsū* I was succeeded by *Īm Taw Syañ* - The Lord of the Royal House.[4] In old Burmese, a palace is called *Īm taw* and therefore the name implies that he built a new palace. In the chronicles he is Narathu or Kalagya. We find no epigraphic evidence about his deceit and cruelty as mentioned in the chronicles. We cannot also ascertain that being angry with the king, the *mahāthera Paṁsakū* went over to Ceylon. But the Sinhalese chronicle *Cūlavaṁsa* records charges against the King of *Ramañña*.[5] It says that the two kingdoms i.e. *Laṅka* and *Ramañña*, since they belonged to the same faith, had friendly relations for a long time. Trade between the two countries also flourished. Then suddenly the foolish king of *Ramañña*, who was then *Īm Taw Syañ* illtreated the Sinhalese merchants and took exorbitant rates on all exports, largely elephants to *Laṅka*. To avenge this King *Parākkamabāhu* I (1153–1186) sent an expedition to Burma under general *Ādicca*. As a result the Burmese king was killed. It even claims Sinhalese suzerainty over Burma henceforth. The Devanagala inscription gives the date of this invasion as A.D. 1165.[6] The Burmese chronicles say that Narathu (*Īm Taw Syañ*) died at the hands of Indians from Pataikkhaya.[7] The Dhammayangyi pagoda of Pagan is attributed to him and its inscription[8] is dated A.D. 1165. Therefore it seems that he was king only for a short period (?1163-5) during which time he built that pagoda and it was left unfinished when he was assassinated by the Sinhalese in 1165. According to the Mount Thetso inscription quoted above, he was succeeded by *Cañsū* II. But between *Īm Taw Syañ* and *Cañsū* II, there was an interregnum of nine years. The chronicles try to fill in this blank with a fictitious king called Minyin Naratheinkha.[9]

1. *Hmannan*, para. 141; *GPC*, pp. 113–22
2. Pl. 60a[4-5]
3. This date in Pl. 60a9, S. 573, waxing . . of *Tuiṅslañ* Thursday is completed from the date given in Pl. 90[1]
4. This name does not apply to all kings of Burma as Pharoah – the Great House, is used for all kings of ancient Egypt
5. Wijesinha: *Mahāvaṁsa* II, pp. 189-92 and Geiger: *Cūlavaṁsa* II, pp. 64–70
6. See S. Paranavitana: "Devanagala Rock-Inscription of *Parakramabāhu* I", *Ep. Zey.*, III, vi, pp. 312-25
7. Pataikkhaya is in Tippera district, north east of Chittagong. See also Harvey: *Burma*, pp. 326-7
8. Pl. 4 & 5 (1165)
9. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 133–8

The chronicles have one Minyin Naratheinhka (1171–4) as the king before *Cañsū* II. This is clearly a mistake because *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*, whose regnal title was *Śri Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājadhirājadānapati*[1] was son and successor of *Nātoṅmyā*[2] and not of *Im Taw Syaṅ* (Kalagya). *Nātoṅmyā* ascended the throne on Thursday, 10 waxing of *Tāauslaṅ*, S. 573 (18 August 1211)[3] and reigned for about twenty years. We find in an inscription[4] that in A.D. 1231, a king (his name is illegible) made a dedication and shared the merit with his younger brother *Klacwā*. *Klacwā* ascended the throne on 4 Waxing of *Naṁkā*, S. 597 (19 July 1235).[5] Therefore, it is possible that *Klacwā*'s elder brother and his predecessor (*Narasiṅgha Uccanā*) ruled from A.D. ?1231 to A.D. 1235. A law suit recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1259[6] says definitely that from *Nātoṅmyā* to *Tarukpliy* there are five kings, perhaps excluding *Maṅ Yan* whose reign was so short that his name was left out of the list. The corrected dynastic table shown below will be of much help to understand this.

KINGS OF PAGAN 1044–1287[7]

1. *Aniruddha*	?1044–?1077	(1. Anawratha, founder of the empire	1044)
2. *Maṅ Lulaṅ*	?1077–1084	(2. Sawlu, son of 1	1077)
3. *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* [Usurper]	1084 –1113	(3. Kyanzittha, son of 1	1084)
4. *Cañsū* I	1113 –?1163	(4. Alaungsithu, grandson of 3	1112)
5. *Im Taw Syaṅ*	?1163–1165	(4. Narathu, son of 4	1167)
Interregnum	1165–1174	(6. Naratheinhka, son of 5	1170)
6. *Cañsū* II[AniruddhaLine]	1174 –1211	(7. Narapatisithu brother of 6	1173)
7. *Nātonmyā*, son of 6	1211 –?1231	(8. Htilominlo or Nantaungmya, son of 7	1210)
8. *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*,[8] son of 7	?1231–1235		
9. *Klacwā*, son of 7	1235 –?1249	(9. Kyaswa, son of 8	1234)
10. *Uccanā*, son of 8	?1249–1256	(10. Uzana, son of 9	1250)
11. *Maṅ Yan*, son of 10	?1256		
12. *Tarukpliy*, son of 10	1256 –1287	(11. Narathihapate or Tarokpyemin, son of 10	1254)

1. Pl. 138[1] and Pl. 568b[5-6]
2. Pl. 138[2] and Pl. 200[1]
3. Pl. 90[1]
4. Pl. 67[2,9]
5. Pl. 90[14-15] and Pl. 181[1]
6. Pl. 193[7]
7. Names and dates in parenthesis are from *Handbook of Oriental History*, (1951), p. 131
8. The chronicles combine this king's name with No. 11 King *Maṅ Yan* and thus a fictitious name of King Minyin Naratheinkha appears and he is made the predecessor of *Cañsū* II.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF BURMA 1174-1287

WHILE Mon together with such languages as Pali, Sanskrit, Pyu and Burmese was used[1] during the transition period, with the advent of *Cañsū* II we come to the Burmese period of Pagan culture as opposed to the Mon period in the first half of the dynasty. It seems that a reaction against Mon influence set in and a burmanising movement, which in the course of the next three centuries influenced Mon much more than Mon had done Burmese, started with full force. With the change in language came an entirely different style of writing. The Burmans started writing their language in a simple and straightforward way. They used short sentences probably because they were less sophisticated and more vigorous than the Mon or the later Burmans. An example of the new style is given below :

| o | Uiw, Klaw Saṅ kloṅ plu pri | Sākarec 560 Ta (po) la pleñ lhwat (e) kloṅ 3 choṅ (sa) ṅkan achū cuṁ 2 pā saṅkan 2 . . ñ (p) iy tuṁ . . si pateñsā 1 paṅ nwā ma 1 lhū e | saṅsarā (leñ rā rā) chuw ṅray luw ṅāray ma luw (plañ cuṁ sate) . . . luiw saṅsarā achuṁ nuyrapan tuiṅ (khyaṅ e) | | lup sū khapaṅ ra ca pā ci | | o | | chimi dhoṅ 1 (e) piy e kathin le piy e kadhi (n) . . so ap 40 ṅā cā karā 20 | | luim khwak 4 khlap sapit ta lumm khoṅ loṅ 1 chū khri (n)hap 20 nañ cwā raṅ atuiṅ ma si liw sa te[2]

Having built a monastery, I, *Uiw, Klaw Saṅ*, on 11 February 1199, dedicated (to the Religion) three monasteries, two complete sets of monastic robes, two robes, a *padesa* – wishing tree—and a cow. Wheresoever I wander in *samsara* I wish not misery like hell. May (the wishes) be fulfilled. I wish *nirvana* at the end of *samsara*. May all the workers (on the pagoda) share my merit. I gave a thousand oil lamps, *kathina* robes, forty needles, twenty jars, four cups, an almsbowl, a bell, twenty *khri nhap*.[3] My capital is small; my wants infinite.

For the sake of comparision, an extract from a Mon inscription written in praise of Kyanzittha is given below.

| smiṅ dewatāw | ḍey kāl kirmun gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ yaṅ pnāñ c–āṅ ma jnok kuṁ ci yal gabbha tlūṅ | yaṅ nimit jirnaḥ duṁhic nakṣat duṁhic stlūṅ ta gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ | ḍey kup cinleḥ gna smiṅ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja goḥ sḍūk kṣeḥ puṁrey moy ma nom ku punras row kṣeḥ ma das not kirkūl mat brey scinleḥ ci stuṁ baḥ row tṅey ma tāw kuṁ |[4]

"O king of devas! In the time of the reign of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, if another army should come, a good omen of victory, an auspicious constellation shall come before King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja. In the time of

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1. *Cañsū* I's Shwezigon Inscription *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, No. X, pp. 68–70 is in Mon, the Shwegugyi Inscription (Pl. 1 & 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit, *Rājakumr* Inscription is in Mon, Burmese, Pyu and Pali. The Burmese insciriptions of this transition period are Pl. 110, Pl. 111 - 112, Pl. 3, Pl. 4–5
2. Pl. 117b
3. Probably sandals for monks.
4. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, I C15–22, pp. 118–9

war King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall ride upon a noble steed that has swiftness even as the steeds that are of the breed of the clouds, (and) shall fight (and) shall shine like the noonday sun."

With the change in the language came the change in architecture.

A new style of architecture gradually replaced the "Mon type". Professor Luce gives a very good picture of this change.

> The Burman, in contrast with the Talaing of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. He wrote in prose and not in poetry. He described simply, without exaggeration – very differently from Burmans of latter days. The dim religious light, dark corridors and rich lurid colouring which Mons liked in their temples he disliked. And when he borrowed their style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in sunlight; and his taste in colour and design was far brighter and lighter than theirs.[1]

Let us now study the nature of the early Burmese inscriptions.

Largely the inscription pillars were put up to record their dedications. They dedicated lands, slaves and various kinds of commodities to pagodas and monasteries. This is the main form of their investment as they believed that in so giving away their property they would ultimately attain *nirvana*. They took every care to record what they had given away in charity. The slaves were listed by name, nationality, age and status. The area, class and extent of the lands were given in detail. Witnesses to their good deeds were cited by name and position. Dates were given for all specific occasions. In conclusion they blessed all supporters of their meritorious works, cursed all infringers of them and prayed for the boon of eternal peace. Thus, the inscriptions they left behind are brief in statement but contain historical material and are never dull to read. As the use of the native tongue became popular, it seems that everybody who could afford a dedication would think his work of merit incomplete unless he recorded it on an inscription. Thus, we have more epigraphs in this latter half of the dynasty than in the earlier one. Thanks to these we know more about their kings than we know about their predecessors. Still, little is known of *Cañsū* II except the date of his accession, how many queens he had, and his children.

The Saw Min Hla inscription[2] (which is a copy made in Bodawpaya's reign from the one made by Saw Min Hla the *aprontoau*[3] - concubine - of *Cañsū* II) definitely mentioned that "in S. 536 (1174) *Cañsū Mankrī* ascended the golden mountain" i.e. the throne. *Cañsū* II had six queens and many concubines. The queens were :

1. *Tonphlansañ* - The South Queen
2. *Mlacphlansañ* - The North Queen
3. *Caw Mrakan Sañ* – The Queen of the Emerald Lake
4. *Vaṭaṁsikā* (*Uchokpan*) - The Ornament of the Head
5. *Caw Alhwan* – Queen Paragon
6. *Veluvati* – Queen Gift of Bamboo

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1. *JBRS*, XXII, iii, pp. 121-2
2. Copy. *List* 7157 (*B*. II. 839)
3. *Apron* is the term used for lesser wives in the law books. See D. Richardson : *The Damathat or the Law of Menoo*, p. 94. Probably *aprontoau* here means "Royal Junior Wife".

Queen *Toṅphlaṅsaññ*[1], though her name implies that she was *Cañsū* II's chief queen, was actually not. Probably she had no children. Queen *Markansañ's* son inherited the throne and therefore she stood next below *Markansañ* in position. The Mahadhi inscription (1211)[2] gives the names of the donors listed in order of their rank and position and thus we are able to give the names and status of *Cañsū* II's queens. It says that in S. 573 Waning 7 of *Santu*, the *Mahāthera Dhammavilāsa* dedicated some ornaments, 119 slaves, 14 oxen and 100 *pay*[2] of land from the *Kanplañ* region to the *Tilomañguir* pagoda (?*Trailokluḥoḥbuil* - The Great Happinese of the Three Worlds.[3]) After him the great King *Cañsū* II' dedicated to the same pagoda 50 *pay* of land from *Warañtut* and 30 *pay* from *Mapañcara Hurāñay* village. Next, *Nātoṅmyā*, who was still the Crown Prince at that time, dedicated 100 *pay* of land from *Khamiṅmhū*. Next, Queen *Mrakansañ* (*Nātoṅmyā*'s mother) dedicated 50 *pay* of land from *Mapañcara* lake area. Next, Queen *Toṅphlaṅ Sañ*[4] dedicated 40 *pay* of land from *Toṅplun*. Next, Queen *Mlacphlaṅsañ* dedicated 30 *pay* of land from *Putak*. Next, Queen *Uiw Chok Pañ*'s three sons were dedicated as slaves to the pagoda by the great King *Cañsū* II and he himself redeemed them by dedicating 30 *pay* of land from *Ui Chok Kuiw*. Then, Princess *Acaw Maṅ Lha* who was the only sister of *Nātoṅmyā*, dedicated 30 *pay* of land from the *Calañ* area, 20 from *Rwā Sā*, 20 from *Mapañcara* and 10 from *Sa Yoṅ*. The land dedicated were therefore 510 *pay* in total.

The Midwedaw inscription (1179)[5] mentions that the Queen *Toṅphlaṅsañ* dedicated her slaves and lands of *Lak Pam* village near *Krā Puiw*. Queen *Mlacphlaṅsañ*, according to the Mahadhi inscription quoted above, holds a third position[6] among the queens of *Cañsū* II. In old Burmese, the word *mlacphlaṅ* or *mlac·ok* means the north and later it is shortened to *mlok*. Usually the north queen occupies a second position. We have another mention of her name in the Laydaunggan inscription[7] but unfortunately, it is largely illegible except for the blessings and prayers. Queen *Caw Mrakansañ*, as the mother of *Nātoṅmyā* (1211–?1231) the son and successor of *Cañsū* II, was considered very important, although she was of humble birth.[8] The interesting story of the king's whitlow and her tender care of it,[9] according to traditional accounts, has one weak point so that we feel reluctant to accept it in full. According to the story her son *Nātoṅmyā* was the youngest among the king's sons,[10] but in token of love, the king promised her to name him his successor. Epigraphic evidence shows that he was not the youngest son.[11] The queen's dedication of lands to the *Mahāthera*

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1. A king in Burma when giving audience faces east with his chief queen on his right side i.e. the south. Therefore the South Queen is the Chief Queen.
2. Pl. 34
3. Ink Inscription Pl. 367b. (Burmese)[7] and (Pali)[4]. *Bāruci* was the original builder of this pagoda. But he died in 1125 without completing it. *Saṁ Tra Ūil* continued the building which was completed in 1217 and he gave the name *Tilomañguir* (*Trailokluḥoḥbuil*) to this pagoda in 1223. It is very interesting to note that the name of this pagoda sounds very much like a Mon name and that such a name was given to a pagoda at the time when burmanization was in full force. Probably, this name is corrupted into Htilominlo.
4. Pl. 34[8]
5. Pl. 256[3,20]
6. Pl. 34[9]
7. Pl. 342
8. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 141
9. *Ibid.*, para. 143; GPC, p. 141. See also Harvey: *Burma*, pp. 58, 329
10. *Ibid.*, para. 143; GPC, p. 151
11. See below pp. 19-20

Dhammarājaguru, tutor of her son (*Nātoṅmyā*) and daughter (*Acaw Maṅ Lha*)[1] is recorded in the Mahadhi inscription.[2] It seems that she died some time between 1220 and 1231 as one of her grandchildren in 1239 recorded the dedication of some lands and slaves which originally belonged to the old grandmother Queen *Skhiṅ Phlwā Marakan Sañ* and had devolved through *Nātoṅmyā* who died in ?1231 to the donor of the Hsinbyushin pagoda.[3] In 1244, when another grandchild *Sattyā* made a dedication at the Thinganyon pagoda,[4] he expressedly prayed that Queen *Marakan Sañ* may also get the merit of his good deeds:

> ...*ī suiw nā plu so koṅ mhu kā phurhāloṅ Cañsū maṅkrī amiphurhā Marakan Sañ ra cay sate*...

The last mention of her name in the inscriptions is in a legal case of 1291 when her name is referred to as the original owner of the land in dispute.[5] Queen *Vaṭaṁsikā*[6], also known as *U Chok Pan* - The Ornament of the Head, was fourth in position among the queens of *Cañsū* II.[7] She was the younger sister of *Uiw, Thak Plañ Saṅ*[8], the Lady of *Tuiṅ Sañ*[8] and *Sūlāphirac*[9] husband of *Kroṅtau Sañ*.[10] She had three children (or ?sons) who were once dedicated to the *Tilomaṅguir* pagoda by *Cañsū* II and were later redeemed.[11] The three children were *Rājasūra, Gaṅgāsūra* and ?*Pyaṁkhi*[12] who with the exception of the last, figured as the most important persons next to the king in the state, during the reigns of *Nātoṅmyā, Narasiṅgha Uccanā* and *Klacwā*. They were given high places of honour, probably because their mother Queen *Vaṭaṁsikā* came from a very highborn Sinhalese family. We know very little about Queen *Caw Alhwan*. The *Dhammarājika* pagoda built by *Cañsū* II was completed in 1198 and in 1200, Queen *Caw Alhwan* dedicated slaves to that pagoda.[13] In 1231-2, the queen and her daughter *Sattikāmī* made another dedication of slaves to the same pagoda.[14] The last queen in our list is *Veluvati*, of whom the chronicles write a very lovely but quite mythical story.[15] She was found in a giant bamboo "born of heat and moisture" and she had all the attributes of a lovely damsel except that her ears were too big and she was pot-bellied. When brought to the palace she was first offered to king Minyin Naratheinhka who refused to accept her because of her big ears and stomach. The queen-mother cut her ears to the right size, put her on a diet and gave her to *Cañsū* II who was then the Crown Prince.

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1. Pl. 34[11], Pl. 63a[7]
2. Pl. 63a[10]
3. Pl. 133[26]
4. Pl. 153a[5-6,11]
5. Pl. 272[28]
6. Pl. 91[5], 94a[6], 145[14] (*Uchokpan*)
7. Pl. 34[10]. (*Uiw Chok Pan*)
8. Pl. 143a[7], Pl. 143b[5], Pl. 145[13]
9. Pl. 144[21] (father of Queen *Caw*), Pl. 145[14,15]
10. Pl. 145[15]
11. See above p. 17
12. *Rājasūra* - Pl. 90[20], Pl. 91[6], Pl. 94a[6,21], Pl. 104[14], Pl. 374[30], Pl. 375[9], Pl. 376[9,47]. *Gaṅgāsūra* - Pl 90[20], Pl. 186[7], Pl. 374[30]. *Pyaṁkhi* – Pl. 42[14], Pl. 94a[26], Pl. 186[1]
13. Pl. 369b[16]
14. *List* 163[13] (*A* 50)
15. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 135

"When her ear was cut aright she bore a marvellous beauty insomuch that all men seeing her were dazed and could not stand upright." It was because of her beauty that *Cañsū* II quarrelled with his brother (King Minyin Naratheinkha) and eventually the king was killed and *Cañsū* II succeeded him.[1] Unfortunately, as mentioned above, epigraphic evidence shows that there was no intermediate king between *Im Taw Syañ* and *Cañsū* II. Nor can we find mention of *Veluvati*'s son *Jayasūra* in the inscriptions. In the Sulamani inscription (1175)[2], this *Veluvati* was mentioned as the donor of the Nadaungtap pagoda. We can trace only two names from among the king's concubines and they were *Aprontoau Co Mań: Lha*[3] and *Moṅma Khań Mi Ṅay*[4] who made a dedication in 1198. In another dedication dated 1206 this *Khań Mi Ṅay* was mentioned as *Co Khań Mi Ṅay*. She probably was promoted then to queenship because we have many instances in the inscriptions showing that only queens and princesses used the prefix *Co*. Perhaps she was the king's favourite. *Cañsū* II must have had many children, of whom we know that *Nātoṅmyā* and Princess *Acaw Manlha* were born of Queen *Mrakan Sañ*, *Rājasūra*, *Gaṅgasūra*, and ?*Pyaṁkhī* were born of Queen *Vaṭaṁsikā* and Princess *Sattikāmī* born of Queen *Caw Alhwan*. There were three others, namely *Kraṁsuiṅkrī* (father-in-law of *Samantasū*),[5] *Siṅghapicañ*[6] and the wife of *Byaggasūra*,[7] but unfortunately we cannot trace the names of their mothers. *Cansū* was succeeded by *Nātoṅmyā* on 18 August 1211.[8]

In the inscriptions, the new king is known as *Nātoṅmyā*[9] or *Nātoṅ Skhiṅ*[10] —The Lord of the Ear Ornaments. The chronicles name him Nandaungmya because his mother made many entreaties to *Cañsū* II that he might succeed to the throne.[11] This does not hold good any longer. *Nātoṅmyā*, though his mother was a gardener's daughter,[12] was undoubtedly able and efficient and not the youngest son of *Cañsū* II as alleged.[13] He succeeded to the throne superseding the three sons of *Vaṭaṁsikā*, who by blood, seem to have had a better claim to the throne. Perhaps, *Nātoṅmyā*'s gentleness and affability won their superficial submission.[14] All or at least one of them, i.e. *Pyaṁkhī*, however might have been plotting against him who in their eyes was a usurper. Ultimately in alliance with Prince *Siṅghapicañ*, and Prince *Klacwā* (younger son of *Nātoṅmyā* who later became king in 1235), *Pyaṁkhī* rebelled.[15] Undoubtedly the attempt failed and most probably *Pyaṁkhī* and

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1. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 135-6
2. *List* 97 (*UB*. I, 173)
3. *List* 715 (*B*. II, 839)
4. Pl. 29[2]
5. Pl. 51[3], Pl. 83[2]
6. Pl. 41[10], Pl. 42[14], Pl. 74[27], Pl. 133[16]
7. Pl. 162[15], Pl. 182a[9]
8. Pl. 90[1]
9. Pl. 31[2-3], Pl. 34[6], Pl. 63a[2-3], Pl. 64[2], Pl. 186[5], Pl. 239[11], Pl. 272[29]
10. Pl. 41[3], Pl. 231b[1], Pl. 273[1]
11. Probably the chroniclers read *Nan:toṅ:myā:* (Nandaungmya) instead of *Nātoṅmyā* which is quite possible and had to fabricate a story to support their reading.
12. *Hmannan*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 141
13. *Ibid.*, para. 143; *GPC*, p. 151
14. *Ibid.*, para. 143; *GPC*, pp. 150-1
15. Pl. 42[14], Pl. 186[11]

Singhapican were executed; but the king forgave *Klacwā* and *Pyamkhī*'s son (name unknown) possibly because of their youth. It seems that, *Rājasūra* and *Gangasūra* remained loyal to *Nātonmyā* henceforth. When *Klacwā* ascended the throne, they two together with the ministers *Mahāsamanta, Amritta Lakyā, Anantajayapikrama* and *Mahāsatti* were appointed to form a royal commission enquiring into the authenticity of the religious lands, especially the *Han Ram Pa-Ak* lands dedicated by *Jayapavattati*.1 If the evidence was weak, King *Klacwā* was intent upon confiscating them as he was very much concerned with the dwindling of the state revenue owing to the ever increasing extent of the religious lands from which he could collect nothing. When appointing the said commission, *Rājasūra* and *Gangasūra* were described as *man phathuy* – the king's father's younger brothers i.e. *Nātonmyā's* younger brothers.2 Thus we come to the conclusion that *Nātonmyā* was, if not the eldest, one of the senior sons and definitely not the youngest son of *Cañsū* II. Likewise another name of the king Htilominlo – the Choice of the White Umbrella as well as his Predecessor–cannot be taken as true.3 He is also called *Uccanā*4 a name adopted for the first time by a Pagan king. Probably, the name is *Uccanātha* – the High Protector–which has a close resemblence to *Uccadeva* a name by which *Vishnu* is sometimes known. His regnal title is *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājā* – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.5 As mentioned above, he was Queen *Mrakan San*'s son and his younger sister was Princess *Acaw Man Lha*. In his youth he was educated by a monk on whom he conferred the title of *Dhammarājaguru* when he became king.6 This monk was mentioned as the native of *Molañā*, a village to the east of Dala in Lower Burma. If he was a Mon by race, which is not unlikely, it is important to note that Mon still remained teachers and advisers at the Court of Pagan when the tendency at that time was to forget the Mon influence. We know more about the reign of this king than of his predecessors.

In the rebellion in the early years of his reign when his halfbrothers *Singhapican* and *Pyamkhī* rebelled,7 and his younger son *Klacwā* sided with his enemies, the king had to depend largely on the services of his five ministers to quell it. When the trouble was over, he pardoned his son and the son of *Pyamkhī* and to his five ministers he gave each seven hundred *pay* of land as *ray chu* – the reward for valour. They were *Asankhyā, Anantasū, Asawat, Rājasankram* and *Caturangasū*.8 Probably, *Pyamkhī*'s son surrendered to *Asankhyā* because, it was the latter who brought the rebel prince back to Pagan and it was to him that the king gave all the former slaves of that prince. The minister *Anantasū* was the *Mahāsenāpati* – Commander-in-Chief, of *Nātonmyā*. He and his wife built the Laymyakhna pagoda, Minnanthu, Pagan and left a great number of inscriptions recording their deeds of merit. One of these inscriptions9 records a law suit concerning slaves and tells us an interest-

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1. Pl. 90
2. Pl. 90
3. Tentatively, the name Htilominlo is the corruption of *Tilomanguir* which also is possibly derived from *Trailokluhohbuil* (Pl. 34², Pl. 367b⁷). See above p. 17, n. 3
4. Pl. 36⁴, Pl. 42¹⁶, Pl. 78b⁹, Pl. 90¹, Pl. 123³, Pl. 190a¹²
5. Pl. 31². Identical with the title of *Çañsū* I
6. Pl. 63a²⁻³, ¹³⁻¹⁴
7. Pl. 42¹⁴, Pl. 186¹¹
8. Pl. 42¹⁷, Pl. 190a¹²
9. Pl. 78b. See also Chapter X

ing story of how slaves were bought and sold or given away to settle debts. Another of his inscriptions[1] mentioned the procedure of an appeal court which was called *Atam tryā*. The appeal court judges mentioned in it were *Cañsaphaṅ Mlat*, *Baccrapatiy*, *Patañsā* and *Mahāway*. They were officially called *saṅphama* i.e. judges, as distinct from ministers and governors. The minister *Asawat* (*?Aśvatthāma*) was in his civil duties, the *aklaṁ taṅ so maṅ amat*[2] – Royal Registrar. His wife built a *kū* – hollow pagoda, in 1236 to commemorate his death and dedicated slaves to it. The reverse face of the inscription[3] recording this dedication has a detailed account of the building-costs[4] which gives us comparative prices of the commodities in the Pagan period. The minister *Rājasaṅkraṁ*[5] was a prominent judge of *Nātoṅmyā*'s reign. The chronicles regarded him as the cause of *Tarukpliy* being made king in 1256, superseding his elder brother.[6] But we do not know how far it is true. It seems that *Rājasaṅkraṁ* became the chief minister during the reigns of *Nātoṅmyā*'s successors. The minister *Caturaṅgasū* was also a judge and his associate judges were *Mahāsaman*, *Kaṅkaphirac*, *Atūlaissawir* and *Nāriṅtasū*.[7] Another important officer of the reign was *Sambyaṅ Jeyyapwat* (*Jayapavattati*) who built the Zeyaput pagoda, East Pwazaw, Pagan and the inscription of that pagoda[8] gives the exact dates of the accession of *Nātoṅmyā* and *Klacwā*, which were S. 573 waxing 10 of *Tāauslaṅ*, Thursday (18 August 1211) and S. 597 Waxing 4 of *Namkā*, Thursday (19 July 1235) respectively. This inscription also gives another four associate officers of *Jeyyapwat*, viz. *Satyā*, *Cañkray*, *Krammaphat* and *Siri Indrapicañ*. *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* was *Nātoṅmyā's* successor.

Nātoṅmyā was succeeded in ?1231 by his elder son *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*, whose regnal title was *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarājadānapati* – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent, King of Law, King of Kings, Lord of Charity.[9] *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* had probably two queens and they were Queen *Cāw* and Queen *Phwā Jaw*. Queen *Cāw* had two sons *Siṅghapati* and *Tryāphyā*[10] and probably a daughter *Acaw Lat*. The North *Kūni* inscription (1241) records the meritorious deed done by Queen *Cāw*, the wife of *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* and the mother of Prince *Siṅghapati* and Prince *Tryāphyā*.[11] *Acaw Lat* wife of *Jeyyasaddhiy* who served as minister to the king was probably her third child. She left an inscription dated S. 623 Waxing 5 of *Mlwaytā* (3 August 1261) which is of immense historical value.[12] Because of this inscription, we are able to say that *Nātoṅmyā* was succeeded by *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* and not by *Klacwā* directly as the chronicles say.[13] It was written thus:

/ / *Śrī Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja mañ so maṅkrī-sā im rhiy maṅ Nārasiṅgha*

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1. Pl. 79b[17]. See below p. 44 and Chapter III
2. Pl. 96[6]
3. Pl. 97
4. See *JBRS*, XXX, p. 327, n. 105
5. Pl. 371a[5]
6. *Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, pp. 158-60
7. Pl. 125a[2–4]
8. Pl. 90[1,15]
9. Pl. 138[1], Pl. 568b[5-6]
10. *Trāyphyā* probably means *Dhammarāja* – the Lord of Law. In the post-Pagan period, it became so popular that many kings were called by that name.
11. Pl. 138[2,3]
12. Pl. 200
13. *Hmannan*, para. 145; *GPC*, pp. 154–5. See also *JBRS*, XXII, ii, pp. 100–2

Uccanā samī Acaw Lat mañ so maṅsamī nhaṅ amatyā krī phlac tha so Jayyasaddhiy mañ so dāyakā moṅ nhaṁ 2 yok sañ / / chanawuti rogā / / kuiw chay khrok pā so anā / / battiṅsakammā / / krammā 32 / / pañcavisati bhayā / / bhuiy 25 pā / / iy mhya so bhuiy anā / / saṁsarā chuiw ṅray khapaṅ khlup rā arap phlac tha so sabbañu purhā chu kuiw ra khlyaṅ so kroṅ / /[1]

Princes *Acaw Lat*, daughter of *Nārasiṅgha Uccanā* who was son and Heir Apparent of the great king *Śrī Tribhavanādityapavaradhammarāja* (i.e. *Nātoṅmyā*) and her husband *Jeyyasaddhiy*, the great minister - these donors husband and wife desire the boon of *sabbaññutañāṇa* - Buddhahood, which is the end of *samsara* and all the miseries like 96 diseases, 32 causes of evil and 25 calamities.

Another important queen of *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* was *Phwā Jaw*. In the Minwaing inscription (1272)[2] she called herself the daughter-in-law of *Nātoṅmyā*[3] but she did not mention the name of her husband. He could have been either *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* or *Klacwā*. When sharing the merit of her good deed said:

/ / ī suiw lhyaṅ nā plu so koṅmhu akluiw kā / / riy mliy khapsim so askhiṅ phlac tha so mlat cwā so ṅā laṅ skhiṅ maṅkrī / / ṅā sā maṅkrī / / ṅā mliy maṅkrī / / ī maṅkri suṁ yok ca so noṅ lā lat so maṅ khapsim le ṅā atū ra ciy sate / /

The reward of the good deeds thus done by me - may my most excellent husband lord the king, lord of the water and land; my son the king; my grandson the king - may these three kings and all the kings to come hereafter, get it equally with me.[4]

Definitely, her son the king and her grandson the king were *Uccanā* and *Tarukpliy*. She mentioned *Klacwā* in her inscription[5] but not as her husband and from other inscriptions[6] we have the name of the queens of the *Klacwā*. She was not among them. Therefore her husband the king most probably was *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*. Thus, *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* was succeeded by his younger brother *Klacwā* with whom he had shared his merit on making a dedication on S. 593 Waning 1 of *Plasuiw*[7] (11 December 1231).

Klacwā became king on S. 597 Waxing 4 of *Naṁkā*, Thursday[8] (19 July 1235). He was also known as *Caw Krī*.[9] We do not know the name of *Klacwā's* mother. She died when he was very young. The Laymyakhna inscription (1253)[10] set up by his aunt says:

/ / Sakarac 597 khu / / Āsin nhac Naṁkā la chan 4 ryak Krāssapatiy niy / / Klacwā maṅ rhuy toṅ tak pri / / ṅā mi kuiw kā ṅā ma si luik / / ṅā mithuy muy ruy ṅā krī

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1. Pl. 200^{1-6}
2. Pl. 234 & 235
3. Pl. 234^{38}
4. Pl. 235^{10-11}
5. Pl. $234^{26,28,32}$
6. Pl. 246^{2}, Pl. 273^{20}
7. Pl. 67^{1-2}
8. Pl. 90^{14-15}, Pl. 181^{1}
9. Pl. $234^{28.32}$
10. Pl. 181^{1-4}

e, ṅā mithuy lhyaṅ te ṅa mi e, hu ruy / / īm plu niy piy e, / / īm thoṅ kywan lay le piy taw mū e, / /

On 19 July 1235 *Klacwā* ascended the golden mountain. "I never knew my mother. My aunt brought me up and so I grew. Truly my aunt has been a mother to me." So saying, he built a house and gave it to me to live in. He also gave me household slaves and rice fields.

This aunt built a hollow pagoda and dedicated the slaves and lands given to her by the king to that pagoda in 1253. The house he gave was also turned into a monastery. It is a mystery still why *Siṅghapati* and *Tryāphyā*, the two sons of *Narasiṅgha Uccanā* by his chief queen, were ousted from the succesion by *Klacwā* and why the succession reverted to the older branch of the royal family on the death of *Klacwā*. Probably the sons of *Narasiṅgha Uacanā* were too young when their father died and therefore their uncle was made king. But there must have been a sort of agreement between the two branches that after *Klacwā* the succession should revert to the older branch.[1] It seems that there was some opposition to *Klacwā*'s succession. The Minwaing inscription[2] records a rebellion in the year following his accession. It says:

/ / Sakarac 598 khu / / Kratuiw nhac Mlwaytā la chan ṅā ryak Tannhaṅkanuy niy / / Sirivaḍhanā plac sa rhaw ackuiw Siṅghāpikram plac pā e, / / atuiw Skhiṅ Cawkri Kwan Prok Ṅay nhuik niy taw mū so Siṅghapikram mayā min e, / / atuiw kywan lan Pukam sā / / niy ra ciy la siy / / ṅā kywan / / lay / / uyan kā skhiṅ yu ciy khlyaṅ hu min e, / / min taw mū piy rakā Pukam niy ra e, / /

On 9 June 1236 when *Sirivadhanā* sinned (i.e. rebelled), his elder brother *Siṅghapikram* was involved in the sin. Our Lord *Caw Krī* (i.e. *Klacwā*) was sitting in the *Kwan Prok Ṅay* – the Small Variagated Hall, when the wife of *Siṅghapikram* said: "Your servant's husband - let him, I pray, be allowed to remain here at Pagan. My slaves, paddy lands and gardens - I would ask my lord to take them." (The king) allowed *Siṅghapikram* to remain at Pagan (but confiscated his estates).

Another inscription[3] mentions that two monks were involved in a rebellion against *Klacwā*. This is the only instance we have in the inscriptions of our period of monks getting mixed up in politics.[4] The king also had some trouble with the monks in a land dispute.

Klacwā probably was very much annoyed by the loss of revenue owing to a great increase of religious lands and therefore an attempt to confiscate the religious lands was one of the first measures he took after his accession. The Zayaput inscription says :

/ / Sakarac 597 khu / / Āsin nhac / / Naṁkā la chan 4 ryak Krāsapatiy niy ā / / maṅkrī sā maṅ Klacwā rhuy toṅ tak ruy / / akriy aññā nhuik te mahādān mliy khapsin yū lat te / /[5]

On 19 July 1235 the great king's son Prince *Klacwā* ascended the golden mountain and after that *mahādāna* lands of up-stream and down-stream he took.

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1. There was no rigid law for succession but usually the eldest son of the chief queen succeeded to the throne. There were however many exceptions.
2. Pl. 234[31-4]
3. Pl. 102[24-6]
4. See below Chapter VII for details.
5. Pl. 90[15-16]

In the course of this measure he confiscated the *Haṅ Raṁ Pa-ak* lands dedicated by *Saṁbyaṅ Jayapavattati* to a forest monestary. The monks raised an objection and therefore he had to appoint a commission to look into the matter. The commission reported that the monks were right and therefore the king had to re-dedicate the *Haṅraṁ Pa-ak* lands to the monastery. Anyhow by this cofiscation many *pay* of land were lost to the Religion for ever. But tradition required *Klacwā* to made dedications of land etc. during his lifetime and therefore some would be undoubtedly restored to the Religion. *Klacwā* made a big dedication immediately after his accession.[1] He even gave a hundred *pay* of land to the Brahmans who probably conducted his coronation.[1] It was in his reign perhaps between 1237 and 1248 that the monks *Subūticanda* and *Dhammasiri* went over to Ceylon for educational purposes.[2] Possibly a religious purification movement started after their return from Ceylon. The most important minister of the reign was *Mahāsamanta*[3] who was the chief minister as well as the viceroy of the northern part of Burma. He was sometimes called the Viceroy of *Koṅcaṅ*[4] as he had to take charge of the *Koṅcaṅ* area (near Bhamo) which was probably the northernmost part of the Burmese empire. *Klacwā* also tried to improve administration and ensure peace in his kingdom.

Towards the end of the reign *Klacwā* issued an edict against all malefactors dated 6 May 1249[5] and he decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of these edict pillars have been discovered. Perhaps there were more than eleven but not so many as the king originally intended. The reason for this may have been that he died before the completion of his orders and that his control of outlying districts was weak. The promulgation of the edict against all malefactors is almost an admission of the general prevalence of unrest. His confication of the glebe lands was probably one of the causes of dissatisfaction in the country. The reconstructed text of this edict is given below.[6]

> *| | o | | Sakarac 611 khu Mruikkasuir saṁwachuir | | Kuchum la chut 8[7] ryak Krāsapaptiy niy | | Mākhā naksat | | Methun lak | | 5 nā rī prī | | atuiw purhā Caw Krī Skhiṅ Śrī Triphavanātityāpavarapaṇḍitadhammarāja mañ so purhā rhaṅ taw | | rhiy[8] thuy taw | | naṅ alwaṁ so sū mya takā tuiw | | ū sā thak ā | | taṅ lhā laṇ | | naṅ lū myā takā tuiw | | ī lū twaṅ so khyaṁsā tamunwan so khyaṁsā kuiw luiw so sū kā | | ī ṅā cakā kuiw ruiw siy so | yuṁ so mū ruy | lhama cok nā thoṅ ruy nā ap e, | | aphay kroṅ nhe hū mū kā | | akraṅ kroṅ | | īy ṅā cakā kā | mimi kuiw prañā phlaṅ | kraṁ ruy chuiw so ma chuiw so ma hut cwaṁ | | mlat cwā so purhā skhiṅ sabbāñū cakā kuiw mhī ruy chuiw sate | |*
>
> *rhiy lwan so maṅ tuiw kā | | khuiw cā so sū tuiw kuiw kā | | taṁklaṅ lhuiw so ka ca so athū thū so sat khraṅ phlaṅ | sat kun e, | | thuiw suiw so sattawā takā tuiw*

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1. Pt. 102^{18}
2. See below Chapter VIII for details.
3. Pl. 85^{24}, Pl. 90^{20}, Pl. 102^{7}, Pl. $125a^{3}$
4. Pl. 158^{20-1}
5. The date of the pillars are not all uniform. Some are dated S. 611 Waxing 9 of *Kuchun* (22 April 1149), and some are dated S. 611 Waning 3 of *Kuchun* (1 May 1249).
6. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167-9, Pl. 170, Pl. 173-4, Pl. 343 and Pl. 345ab are all edict pillars and an almost complete text has been reconstructed out of them by Professor G.H. Luce. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p. 70
7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167, Pl. 168-9 have *chan* 9; Pl. 170 has *chut* 3.
8. Pl. 166ab & Pl. 168–9 have *hū*; Pl. 170 has *rhiy*; Pl. 171–2 & Pl. 173 have *hu ruy*.

e / apyak acī kuiw ma luiw so kroṅ / sattawā takā tuiw kuiw / / mimi sa kay suiw / ok miy lat ruy / / krunā sañ tuik lat ruy // chuiw so cakā te // thuiw kroṅ rakā / ruiw siy so yuṁ so mū ruy / lha ma cok nā thoṅ ruy nā ap e hū so te //asuiw mū ruy nā ciy su nhe / o, ī maṅkrī kā / / mimi kuiw prañā phlaṅ kram ruy chuiw so ma hut takā / / mlat cwā so purhā sakhiṅ // sabbañu cakā kuiw / mhī ruy chuiw so cakā te // ī ṅā cakā kuw luik mūkā / ī lū twaṅ so khyaṁsā / / tamunwan so khyaṁsā kuiw ma lway ra lyaṅ so tū kā[1] *// ī suiw nhac luṁ mū ruy nā ap e //*

ī mhya so khuiw ca kun so sū tuiw sañ kā / khyaṁsā ra aṁ sate hū ruy khuiw ca kun so te / / ayaṅ tuiw / khyaṁsā ra nuiw so sañkā / sū rhok sū rwā sū miyā sū sā / sū utcā / apyak acī / anuiṅ athak mu ra so kuiw khyaṁsā nuiw pan kyaṅ so te / / thuiw khyaṁsā hū[2] *so sañ-kā / kuiw sat l (a) laṁ so khyaṁsā te / thuiw kā khyaṁsā te ra e' lo / apyak acī kuiw te rok e'*[3] *lo // thuiw le naṅ tuiw kraṁ kun (ap e,) //*

khuiw ca so sū tuiw sañ kā / mi lat so le / taṁklaṅ lhyuiw so / raṅ puchiṅ nhaṅ pok so / saṁkrap nhaṅ kaṅ so / a - ū nut so / apoṅ alak phay so / myak chan thwac so / asā lhī ruy cā piy lā so / ariy chwac ruy (s)ā mā so / thip thwaṅ ruy chī pū swan so / lañ rhuy mlup ruy thwan[4] *so / puyan cañ ruy chaṅ naṅ ciy so / sacpaṅ phak ciy ruy taṁsaṅ nhac so / a(rhaṅ ma mluk) so / lañ phrat so / / īy suiw so ka ca saphlaṅ ayaṅ tuiw kā chuiw ṅray krī ārok kun so te / / ma mi so krā le / īp so / niy so / ryap so / swā so ka ca saphlaṅ le / / ta ciy sa lhyaṅ le ayaṅ tuiw kā ma khyaṁsā cwaṁ te / / krok lan lyak lhyaṅ ayaṅ tuiw kā khaṁ ce kun sa*[5] *te / / īm nkuik le ma niy cwaṁ / niy pū muiw rwā lhyaṅ kyaṅ so te / ma khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ lhyaṅ le / bhuiy ī khu khu te rok lat mūkā / / īm twaṅ lhyāṅ niy kyaṅ*[6] *mū le / nhanluṁ kā / chuiw ṅray krī cwā so mat lo*[7] */ / khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ kā / aphay hu khi lip nhe / yakhaṅ acan can ka khuiw cā so sū tuiw sañ kā ta yok tañ lhyaṅ le lwat e hū so sañ kā ma hiy phū // krā cwā achuṁ kā / nhan nhac suṁ nhac mruiw kā / ma krā phū ma lo // īy cakā kā yakhu (chuiw) sā ma hut / trya twaṅ le īy suiw min e,*[8] *// siy lyaw ruy khuiw cā so sū kā / ṅray krī prittā asūrā tiritchan apay 4 pā so sañ kā ayaṅ khuiw sū*[9] *īm lhyaṅ mañ e, // siy lhyaṅ rok liy tuṁ tuṁ te hiy e, // ma siy mi lhyaṅ*[10] *le / phaṁ mi lhyaṅ / sū khuiw hū ruy*[11] */ maṅ nhup lat e, // maṅ le / caṁ ta laṁ / khuiw so hū amañ ma taṅ mū ruy // khuiw mhū chaṅ kraṅ so sū kuiw piy 2 e, // thuiw sū tuiw le cit ciy miy e,*[12] *// khuiw so ma hut caṅ mū kā / lhwat e, // khuiw sa hut caṅ mū kā / amunwan cā kuiw phat ciy e / amunwan cā twaṅ akraṅ sū khuiw sañ / ī mañ so / aplac te phlac mū kā / ī mañ so*[13] *tan piy te piy ap e, hū piy e, // maṅ sū khuiw*

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1. Pl. 170 has *aṁ so hut tā.*
2. Pl. 166ab and Pl. 168–9 have *hut.*
3. Pl. 168–9 and Pl. 170 have *kun.*
4. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *tuik.*
5. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *hi.*
6. Pl. 168–9 and Pl. 170 omit *kyaṅ*; Pl. 166ab has *salyak.*
7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *rok e,.*
8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *piy ma lo.*
9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *sukhuiw.*
10. Pl. 170 omits *lhyaṅ.*
11. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9 omit *ruy.*
12. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *cat ruy.*
13. Pl. 170 has merely *amunwan cā kuiw krañ ruy tan piy te.*

aplac nhaṅ ī munwan cā kuiw nuiṅ kraṁ ruy / thuiw aplac nhaṅ taṅ ap so tan kuiw mū e,[1] *// ī y kā maṅ ta kā amunwan hut-tā //*

khuiw sū tuiw sañ kā ī lū twaṅ le athū thū so sat khraṅ ā rok kun e // asuiw sat khraṅ ṅhe hū mū kā ariy[2] *nay saṁ chū tap ruy khat so / achū hiy so krim luṁ nhaṅ khat so / nā lhi so / nhā khoṅ lhī so / khriy lak phrat so // thip thwaṅ ruy saṁ pū ray ray thañ ruy / ū nok kluik 2 chū lyak siy so / khaṁ twaṅ kan phi*[3] *ruy chimi ṅhi so ch(aṁ) yok (rā) ariy ryam ruy chaṁ choṅ ṅaṅ phī ruy ū riy chwac pri so ū khoṅ khwam khlañ saṁ lhañ kan nhaṅ khat so / lakway pukhuṁ / lakyā pukhuṁ ok suiw puchac kan ariy chwac phi ruy ok so ariy kā (a)khriy suiw khla e'*[4] */ athak so ariy kā ū khoṅ suiw lhī lay so / ariy khapaṅ chwac pri so kā atwaṅ riy kā apa suiw thā ruy lhwaṁ so (/ m)iy ñhap nhaṁ ariy kuiw katkriy nhaṅ ryan so // asā hiy rā / khit ruy lhī so // lak tan toṅ rhiy phrat so*[5] */ khriy puchac rhuy phrat so / saṁ khwā 4 khu cwap ruy twā ciy so / acoṅ īp ciy ruy nā twaṅ taṁsaṅ nak so*[6] *// khriy 2 phak suṁ ruy pai 2 lheñ so tū nhaṅ (n)u(p) 2 thū ruy / kuiw khapsim uiw khyaṅ suiw khuy bhi ruy lheñ so / ariy kuiw saṅ thum nhaṅ cat ruy /⌐saṁparā chā plā reñ swan so / arhaṅ lhyaṅ khuiy (cā) ciy so / lañ phrat so / kuiw lak (khap) aṅ amhuik rec ruy mi phut so // ī suiw so sat khraṅ sa(kun e, //*

thuiw mruiw tamunwan le / Tāpana mañ so ṅray krī nhuik le kyak kun e, // thuiw (ṅray kā) kuiw aluṁ lhyaṅ [atwaṅ apa (ṅray cit) plañ lyak] tok (tha) su te // ayaṅ tuiw kā mi acā phlac (tha) su te // niy ṅa atuiṅ (chaṅ ṅray) kun (rā e, // ī s)uiw klw(ī)y (tha) sate (//) ṅray asak mlaṅ khraṅ kā ṅray asak (h)ū kū anhac ta sin te lū nhac phlaṅ twak [tuṁ] mūkā akutiy ta ... nhac hiy e, / khuiw ca lyak e, ma khuiw (ca yo)ṅ mū so sūkhuiw khaṁ khraṅ kā] lū phlac ruy / aṁiwaṁ twaṅ thwak sa kā / laṅ ma mraṅ ra mu ruy siy so kā tac kaṁphā lhyaṅ khaṁ te / tac kaṁphā khaṁ pri ruy / lū phlac lyak rhaṅ tuṁ so le / kuiw nik-kā wat ruṁ cā ruṁ lhyaṅ mrai / chuiw ṅray krī lhyaṅ phlac sate // uc(c)ā ra ṅrā tuṁ le ayaṅ tuiw lak rwaṅ / akraṅ akhraṅ sañ phlaṅ (tañ) khlyaṅ so uccā sañ / ma tañ cim so ṅhā[7] *// lhiy mlok so // īm loṅ so// ka ca sa phlaṅ phuiy nhaṅ 2 phlac*[8] *e // khuiw ca so ayyaṅ kroṅ kā / tamunwan so chuiw ṅray krī rok bri ruy // tamunwan so kh(yaṁ sā) // ī lū twaṅ so kyaṁ(sā) ra kroṅ aphay (nhe hu) mu kā // akraṅ kroṅ (hū e ī ṅā cakā) mi 2 kuw prañā phlaṅ kraṁ ruy chuiw so ma hut cwaṁ*[9]

..(cha)y kruy chay / su khlaw saphlaṅ lañkoṅ / su ta . . s(ā) luṁ la saphlaṅ lañkoṅ / tryā sa phlaṅ / asak (muy ap) e / ī suiw kyaṅ mukā / ī lū twaṅ cañcim khyaṁsā khway wa

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1. Pl. 170 omits this sentence *maṅ sū khuiw...tan kuiw mū e.,*
2. Pl. 170 has *sariy.*
3. Pl. 168–9, Pl. 170 have *kat.*
4. Pl. 170 has *ok so ariy ka thak so lhī liy e.*
5. Pl. 170 has *atwaṅ riy, kā apa suiw thā ruy / / lhwaṁ so, ariy kuiw kat kriy nhaṅ ryan sate / / asā hiy rā / / khit ruy lhāṁ sate / / lak tantoṅ rhway*[4] *phat so /*
6. Pl. 168–9 & 170 have *ruy.*
7. Pl. 166ab & 170 have *sate.*
8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 have *krī sañ rok kun.*
9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 omit *so khyaṁsa...ma hut cwaṁ.*

so phlac aṁ sate / alhū le piy ap e / sataṅ le sum̃ ap e / ....ap e/ thuiw suiw mu pri ū kā / tamunwan nhuik...k le / Sakrā maṅ cañcim / ma lway ra lim sate / tamunwan so // ī lū twaṅ so // cañcim khyaṁsā ra aṁ so kroṅ kā / khuiw so akyaṅ / ma kyaṅ ap / koṅ so akyaṅ kā kyaṅ ap e

ī suiw ṅā mu koṅmhu kluiw kā / niyrapan paccañ le phlac ciy sate / sattwā tal̥ā le khyaṁsā ciy sate / muiw liy le koṅ le ciy sate prañ tay le khyaṁsā ciy sate /

444 klokcā tuiṅ chok s(ā) kā niy kyan le phway / tañchoṅ plu / pitan chaṅ cwā kri cut / ta rwā ma lwat chok ciy te / rwā ṅay cwā achuṁ kā a-īm (50) y(hu)y chok ciy te ta la ma lwat la plañ sataṅ niy nhuik rwā sūrok sūkrī rwā sañ khapaṅ ra so tanchā chaṅ lyak pok 2 tanchoṅ (pantoṅ) kawthā nhaṅ pucaw / cañ pasā le ti / ī (suiw mū.ru)y klok cā tuiṅ cā kuiw nā ciy kun sate chok (ū) so (purhā Cawkrī) cwā mū ciy sate cā phat sa sū le (ryā)...tanchā chaṅ ruy [pha]t ciy sate tuiṅ ma hiy so rwā ṅay rhok ṅay tuiṅ paṅ khaw ruy / tuiṅ hiy rā suiw nā pā ciy kun (e //)

On Thursday 6 May 1249 our lord Cawkrī (i.e. Klacwā whose regnal name is) *Srī Triphavanātittyāpavarapaṇḍitadhammarāja* ordained thus. Those desiring prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter should obey my words with respect and belief and listen attentively. Because I do not speak in my own words or wisdom but I speak after the words of the most excellent and omniscient Lord.

Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words. That is why I say that my words should be obeyed with intense reverence. Listen to my words with attention because they are spoken after the words of the most excellent Lord. Obedience will give one prosperity in this life and in lives hereafter without fail. With attention listen!

Do those who live by thieving think that they gain this way? They acquire prosperity by destroying other people's villages, wives, children, goods and chattels. Gains thus acquired will be the very cause of their own destruction in the end. Do consider whether these acts are really beneficial or not.

When caught a thief is to be punished with one or the other of these punishments. He is impaled. His berast is split open with the axe. He is roasted. His intestines are taken out. His legs and limbs are cut off. His eyes are taken out. Patches of his flesh are taken off. He is skinned and smeared with salt. His skull is split open and boiling oil poured in. He is buried in the earth up to the neck and a plough driven over him. He is skewered to the ground and trodden over by elephants. He is pinned alive to a tree. He is buried alive. He is beheaded. Under such tortures he experiences great misery. Even if he goes scot-free he cannot have peace of mind while sleeping, living, standing, going, etc. He does not prosper even in the least degree. He lives in constant terror. He becomes an outlaw and thus he cannot have proper shelter from sun and rain. Even those who live peacefuly at home suffer a lot when they are sick, the misery of this homeless man when sick would be unthinkable. No thief has ever escaped punishment

until now. Perhaps, he manages to evade the law for two or three years but in the end he is caught and punished. He can never escape. According to "the Law", after death, four *apāya* viz. *niraya, tiracchāna, peta* and *asura* will be his abode. There can be no alternative. Before death, when caught, a thief is brought before the king who asks his judges to try him. If the verdict is not guilty, he goes free. If found guilty, *amunwan* -?Criminal Code, are referred to. Punishment varies with the nature of the offence and he suffers according to the degree of his crime. This is the way of all kings.

The thief shall suffer various tortures such as being flogged with a leather strap with iron thorns; being beaten with a cane with thorns; having his ears and nose cut off; having his legs and limbs torn off; having his skull trepanned and molten iron poured in so that the brains boiled like porridge; having his mouth fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside; being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs; being skinned alive from the neck downwards and having each strip of skin as soon as removed tied by the hair so that these strips form a veil around him; having bits cut out of the flesh all over the body; being horse-shoed and made to walk; having the head nailed to the ground by a spike through both ear-holes and then being dragged round and round by the legs; being pounded till the whole body is as soft as a straw mattress; having the body curled into a bundle and chopped to piece; having cuts made all over the body and salt or alkali rubbed into the gashes; having bits of flesh cut off while alive and given to the dogs; being beheaded and being wrapped with rubbish and baked alive. These are the punishments that a thief has to suffer.

Besides, in the next existence, he will be cooked in the *Tapano* hell. In this hell, the whole body, both inside and outside is burnt all day and night without intermission for one hundred thousand years which is the equivalent of ten millions and . . . . years of our human world. When born to mankind again, he is born blind, and will live in great poverty. Great calamities will frequently visit him. I speak these words . . . .
Thus it is essential to lead a good life. As a reward, one will enjoy wealth and prosperity. Make donations and practice piety. In the next existence . . . .
. . . . In order to get prosperity, one should not steal but live a life of goodliness.

May this good deed be an attribute to the attainment of *nivana*. May all beings enjoy prosperity. May the rain and wind be also good. May the capital be prosperous.

444 inscription stones must be made. A pavilion is to be built (to shelter each inscription) placed under a grand conopy. All villages without exception must have these inscriptions. Villages having more than 50 houses must have this inscription set up. On full moon days, all villagers must assemble round this pillar with music and offerings. The village headman must wear his ceremonial robe and read aloud this inscription before the assembly. People from small villages where there are no

such pillars must come to a nearby big village to listen to the reading of this inscription.

Probably *Klacwā* copied and translated the relevant portions of the punishments from the sacred texts such as the *Majjhima Nikāya*[1], the *Anguttara Nikāya*[2] and the *Milinda Paññā*[3]. Contrast this *Klacwā* who translated such horrifying tortures with the picture given by the chronicles[4] of a devout king translating the *Paramatthabindu*. It is more than likely that he had no intention of being so cruel but that he was trying to frighten them into goodness. With this threat, *Klacwā* intended to keep law and order in his realm. He probably died soon after this edict because we would have had more of these edict pillars if he had lived longer to execute his plan to its fullest extent. His successor *Uccanā*[5] obviously did not intend to continue his good work.

Uccanā who succeeded in ?1249 was *Klacwā*'s nephew. He was the son of *Narasingha Uccanā* and Queen *Phwā Jaw*. His regnal title was *Śrī Tribhavanadityadhammarājajayasūra*. He married *Sumlūla*, the daughter of *Klacwā*.[6] He also married the daughter of a turner and the son of this union later became king *Tarukpliy*. *Uccanā* ruled until 1256 when:

> . . . *Utcanā maṅ akriy lā kha ruy Tala lhyaṅ pyaṁ tau mū liy kun e*,[7]
> King *Utcanā* came downstream and he (together with his retinue) passed away (? was massacred) at *Tala*.[8]

Therefore *Uccanā* was also known as *Talapyaṁ Maṅ*[9] - the king who died at Dala. He was succeeded by his son *Maṅ Yaṅ*.

Maṅ Yan's reign was extremely short. This *Maṅ Yan* was given precedence over *Tarukpliy*; probably he was *Sumlūla*'s son. It seems that he was also assassinated. The Shinbinbodhi inscription[10] records the gifts made by *Maṅ Yan* to his nurse *I Poṅ Saṅ* and it goes on to state that after *Maṅ Yan*'s death his successor King *Cañsū* (i.e. *Tarukpliy*), confirmed his elder brother's gifts to *I Poṅ Saṅ* who was his nurse too. Unfortunately, that is all we practically know of *Maṅ Yan*. Now we come to the last king of the Pagan dynasty.

Maṅ Yan was succeeded by *Tarukpliy*[11] in 1256. The accession is recorded as follows.

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1. Lord Chalmers: *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 61–2
2. F. L. Woodward: *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I, pp. 42–3
3. T.W. Rhys Davids: *The Question of King Milinda*, pp. 276-8
4. *Hmannan*, para. 145; *GPC*, p. 155
5. Pl. 164[1-2]
6. Pl. 158[14]
7. Pl. 158[18]. See also Pl. 296[5]
8. The word *kun* signifies plural and therefore he was not the only one to be killed there. The chronicles mentioned that he was killed in an elephant hunt at Dala (*Hmannan*, para. 146; *GPC* p. 158.)
9. Pl. 296[1]
10. Pl. 218a[2]. See also Pl. 219b[2]
11. Pl. 233[11]

// Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapoṅ l-chan 13 ryak 5 niy Talapyaṁ Maṅ Phoṅ Chaṅ Paṅ klī mliy yū tau mū rakā . . . thuiw yū sa nhac akriy Tala lā rā 'pyaṁ taw mū liy e' sā Panpwatsañ Mliy rhuy toṅ ra liy e rhuy toṅ ra pri Pukaṁ rok lat te rok prī so khā Sakarac 618 khu Āsat nhac Naṁyun la twaṅ ratanā suṁ pā rhiy niy ruy...[1]

On 8 February 1256, *Talapyaṁ Maṅ* confiscated the *Phoṅ Chaṅ* land at *Paṅklī* (in the Chindwin area.) In that year of confiscation, (*Ucaanā*) went downstream to *Tala* and died there. (His) son *Panpwatsañ Mliy* – the grandson of the turner-received the golden mountain, he reached Pagan. After arriving there, in (May) 1256 he appeared before the Three Gems (and returned the lands to the monks).

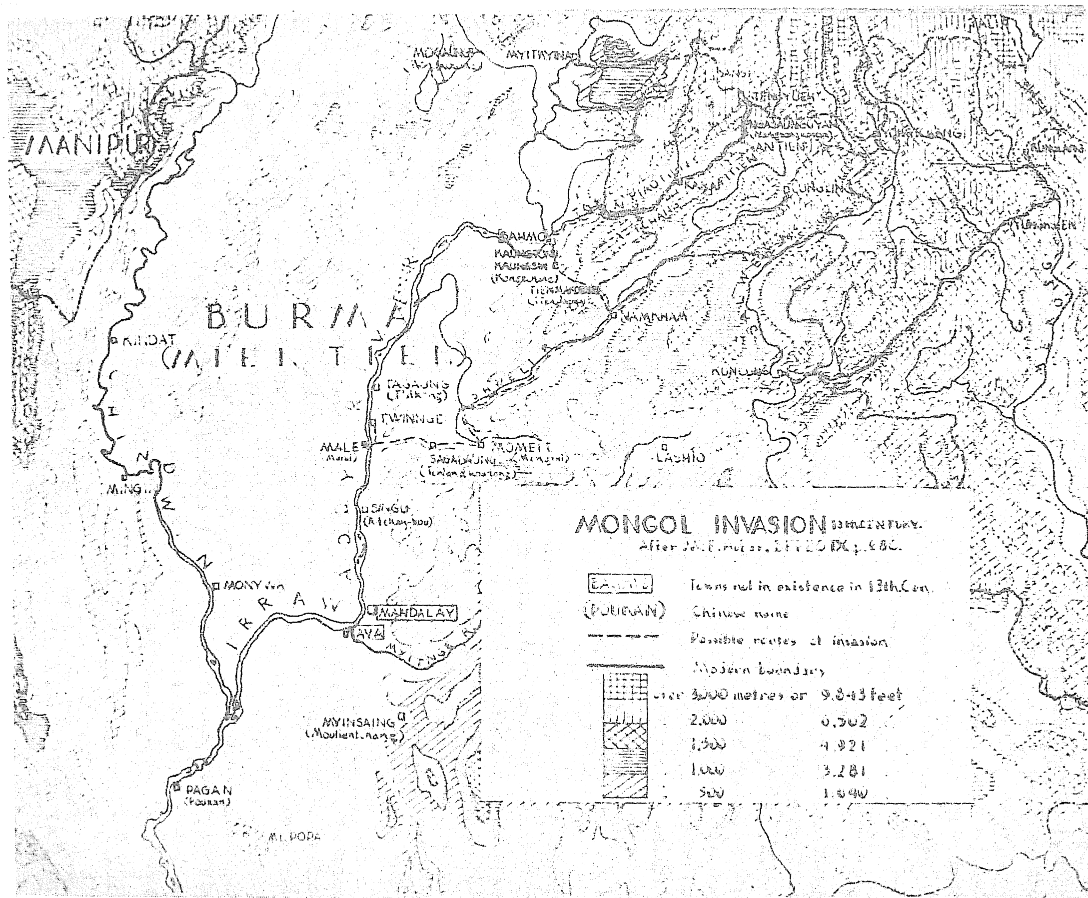
When *Uccanā* went downstream to Dala early in 1256, he probably left *Maṅ Yan* at the capital to look after the affairs of state and when he died, *Maṅ Yan* became king but through some court intrigue he was removed and *Panpwat Sañ Mliy* finally became king.[2] Then he came back to Pagan. In May 1356 he was already in Pagan carrying out his kingly duties. In about November 1256, he was crowned king.[3] Although he was popularly known by the name of *Tarukpliy* - the king who fled from the *Taruk*, the name that he received after the 1287 Mongol invasion, he was called *Panpwat Sañ* - the Turner-after his maternal grandfather or *Uccanā*[4] as his father was known or *Cañsū*[5] as most of the kings of Pagan would like to be called after their famous ancestor *Cañsū I*. He built a pagoda in memory of his grandfather and therefore he was also known as *Panpwat puthuiw tau dāyakā*[6] - the donor of the Turner's pagoda. His aunt *Arī Caw* described him as:

> *// asariy hiy so purhā tryā saṅghā ratanā suṁ pā sa nhuik // ruiw siy mlat cwā so // cuiw sā maṅsā amāttyā buil pā chaṅ phlū ca so ratanā khu nhac pā skhiṅ phlac so klwan 4 klwan thwan so niy kay suiw ahin jaw aroṅ awā tok pa cwā so asariy hiy so // Śri Tribhuvanadityapavaradhammarājā maṅ so // tryā maṅ ...*[7]
>
> The just king *Śri Tribhuvanadityapavaradhammarājā*, the Glorious, who reveres and honours the Three Gems of the Lord, the Law and the Order, who is the Lord of the Seven Gems such as the sons of administrators, the sons of the kings, the ministers, and followers and the white elephant, and who shines with colour, fame and influence like the sun that shines over the four islands . . .

Apart from this panegyric we know very little about him. We are therefore neither able to support or refute what the chronicles say about his being gluttinous, vain and oppressive and about the Mon rebellion in lower Burma during his reign. It is fortunate for students of history that there is an inscription which tells us part of the story of the Mongol invasion[8] during *Tarukpliy*'s reign.

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1. Pl. 296⁴⁻⁷
2. The story given in the chronicles is that at Dala hunting lodge *Uccanā* was killed by a must elephant and though *Panpwatsañ Mliy* was a junior son of the deceased, the great minister Yazathingyan removed the rightful heir and placed him on the throne. (*Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, pp. 158-9).
3. Pl. 186⁸
4. Pl. 296⁵
5. Pl. 218a⁵
6. Pl. 158²⁻⁴
7. Pl. 249¹⁸⁻¹⁹
8. Pl. 271¹⁻³⁷. For translation see also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, pp. 53–4.


MANIPUR
BURMA
MYITKYINA
LASHIO
TWINNGE
MALE
SINGU
MANDALAY
AVA
MYINSAING
PAGAN
MONGOL INVASION
Towns not in existence in 13th Cen.
Chinese name
Possible routes of invasion
metres or
feet
2.000
1.500
1.000
3.281
500

Evidently the minister *Intapacrā* had chosen the wrong moment to do a meritorious deed. Before he completed building the monastery the Burmese invasion of Yunnan began and he was called away from the capital on military duty. It seems that from the time of *Cañsū* II (1174-1211) Ngasaunggyan was the northern limit of the empire[1] and Kaungsin was the administrative centre for northern Burma.[2] *Intapacrā* must have been a worthy officer to have received the command of an important fort. Perhaps he died defending it when Mongols took it on 3 Dec. 1283. Kaungsin fell on 9 Dec. The Mongols penetrated as far as south to Tagaung which was captured in January 1284. Hence Upper Burma became a province of China called Chêng-mien. Then only was the king at Pagan convinced of the Mongol strength and the vulnerability of his capital. He decided to leave it and went to *Lhañkla* west of *Prañ* and sent the Reverend *Disāprāmuk* on a peace mission to Peking. For the following events it is best to quote *Disāprāmuk* himself.[3]

// // namo tassa bhagawato arahato sammā saṁ bnddhassa // Sakarac 647 khu Mrik(kasui)w nhac // Prañ anok phak Lhañkla nhuik maṅkrī niy thaw mū e' // Anantapicañ Mahāpuiw kuiw Taruk e' alāalā kuiw si oṅ mū liy hu ciy tau mū e' // Ananta(pi)cañ Mahāpuiw chuiw e' // ī amhu kā krī cwā // tum ta pai le lhwat ra sañ ma hi // suwa(ṇṇa)lip plu aṁ sañ le ma ḥi // // Syaṅ Disāprāmūk te pā mū kā amhu choṅ aṁ / (/) ī suiw hu pan rakā // ṅā kuiw khaw ruy maṅkrī ī amhu nhaṅ e' // Taruk maṅ chui(w) e' // ī suwaṇṇalip kā maṅ lhwat e' sañ (ma hut // a)mat tuiw lhwat lat so // (su)paṇṇalip takā // (ī) sukhamin kā (maṅ ciy)......lhwat te (hi) lhañ tha // khaw (khliy) ṅā sukhamin mū aṁ hu khaw e' // Pukaṁ (mahārac kā // ma)ṅ tuiw kā tanman kuiw ma khyup ryā (sū) kuiw lhyaṅ ṅā tuiw tanman (mū) lhyaṅ (aṁ hū) ruy // suwaṇṇalip plu ruy ṅā kuiw lhwat e' // (Ta)ruk prañ rok liy e' // Taruk maṅ kā // Pukaṁ suiw (puiw) cim hu ruy (// Susuttakī) maṅ sā (su)ray 20000 // Pu(ñadha)-mmikā mahāthi // (Śrī) Dhammikāsaṅghāthī // akloṅ 70 kā Sañ(thwa)y Prañ rok oṅ lhyaṅ khla ruy niy ciy sate // (santhan) lā e' sañ nhaṅ añī (ra)c cim hu tan ciy sate // ṅā rok (li)y e' // thuiw nhuik tan laṅ so syaṅ (tui)w sañ ṅā kuiw lakchoṅ laknak chak ruy ī suiw chuiw laṅ e' // ṅā syaṅ kui(w te) maṅ toṅ tā cwa // maṅ le saddhā cwa // Pukaṁ sāsanā kuiw ṅā tuiw ma plu ra kroṅ chuiw phi la(t piy) // ṅā le / ī Pukaṁ niy so sūtuiw e' // ni(y) rā kuiw lhwan phi ruy // (Yachañ) lhyaṅ (wā) chuiw (li)y e' // Tanchoṅ-mhun kā Tavtū tak liy e' //Plasuiw rok liy e' // Taruk maṅ le nhac luiw cwā (hi ruy amiy amrū cakā) lhyaṅ chuiw kra e' // prañ mhu kā ma chuiw ra // achuṁ mha kā (prañ) tay cakā kuiw chuiw kra lat te // paṇḍit ī ṅā su ray 20000 nhaṅ mahāthī saṅghāthī syaṅ nhaṅ sāsanā plū liy hu nhaṅ e' // ṅā (chuiw) luik e' // mahārac ī (sura)y (aluṁ) // saṅghā aluṁ capā hi mha (te tañ) krañ aṁ // (capā kā) prañ cañcim amryac ma (lo) // ī surey tuiw sañ than kuiw (te cañ) ruy (cā pri) kā (waṁ ṅā) ruy (ma) siy kun tha lo (krwaṅ) so saṅghā tuiw le prañ twaṅ ma waṅ (waṁ // taw) suiw pliy ruy siy kun khaṁ so takā // maṅkrī (pri pi) so amhu ma lo // uyan cuik so yokyā kā // riy swan ruy sac paṅ kuiw kri ciy e' // añwan ma chit takā // sacpaṅ (sī pri kā) te asī cā e' //

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1. Pl. 19a9, Pl. 276a2, Pl. 2775, Pl. 42318-23
2. Pl. 15820, Pl. 1861, Pl. 24811 Most probably both Ngachaunggyan and Kaungsin are on the opposite bank of Bhamo.
3. Pl. 2711-37

Taṁpratik prañ kuiw le riy swan ū lat siy ṅāy mū le sāsanā mlat cwā || maṅkrī kā phurhā chu toṅ so sū ma lo || apha Kotama sāsanā kuiw apyak ci)y lat siy || ṅā kā / kok pai cuik liy ū aṁ kok pay prī pī so kā waṅ || ī suiw chuiw piy so te || Taruk maṅ chuiw e' || ī cakā twaṅ ṅā phuiw le pā e' || paṇḍit lā ruy pliy pliy sa syaṅ tuiw kuiw khaw liy kok pay le cuik liy || pri pī so ṅā kuiw lhwat lat tuṁ || ī suiw hū ruy ṅā lā ra sate || amhu le lyā ra lhyaṅ sate || ī suiw ṅā kleñcū hi rakā ṅā kuiw piy taw mū so || (Ha)nlaṅ mliy 400 Kraṁtū mliy san muryaṅ plyuiw khaṅ cuṁ 400 apoṅ mliy 800 kywan nwā aluṁ ratanā 3 pā kuiw rañ ruy Panpwat Rap cetī nhuik lhū e' ||

Honour to him, the Blessed, the Saint, the Fully Enlightened. In S. 548 (1285) *Mrigaśira* year, the king was staying at *Lhañkla* west of *Prañ* (either Prome or the capital city of Pagan). He sent *Anantapicañ* and *Mahāpuiw* saying: "Find out about the movements of the *Taruk*". *Anantapicañ* and *Mahāpuiw* said: "This task is a very big one. There is no go-between to send. And there is no one to make the gold address" (i.e. to draft the royal letter). If only we had *Syaṅ Disāprāmuk* with us, we should be able to undertake the task." Thus they petitioned. So the king called me and entrusted this task to me.

At *Sacchim* and *Hanlaṅ* we made no stay. Having made the gold address, we sent it to the *Taruk* king. The *Taruk* king said: "This gold address is not sent by the king. It is merely sent by the ministers; this gold address. As for this learned man, if the king did not send him (?) ...... Anyway call him." So they called me as being the learned man.

As for the *Mahāraja* of Pagan, he made a gold address saying: "Kings should not imprison ambassadors. He is to act as our ambassador." Thereupon they released me. We reached the *Taruk* kingdom. As for the *Taruk* king, intending to send (an expedition) to Pagan, he had despatched Prince *Susuttaki* (with) 20,000 soldiers, the *Mahāthera Puñadhammikā*, the *Saṅghathera Śrī Dhammika*, and (the monks of) 70 monasteries to reach the city of *Saṅthway* (?Tagaung) and caused them to stop there. He caused them to halt there in view of the fact that the monsoon was heavy at the time.

In due course we arrived. Thereupon the monks who were halted there, presented gifts and presents to me and said as follows: "How the king is longing for you Sir! And the king is a good Buddhist! Please tell him that we could not preach the religion at Pagan (because no body is there)."

As for me, having passed the abode of these persons (due to) stop at Pagan, I spent Lent at *Yachañ*.[1] In *Tachoṅmhun* (November) I went up to *Taytu* (Peking).[2] In *Plasuiw* (December) I arrived there.

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1. *Yachañ* is probably Yachi of Marco Polo which is today in the Lo-tz'ŭ district.

2. Taydu (T' ai-tu), the Great Capital, also known as Qanbaliq (the Cambulac of Marco Polo), the Khan's city from 1267. *Handbook of Oriental History*, p. 212.

> The *Taruk* king was well pleased and we exchanged words and questions, but nothing was said of state affairs. But at the end we talked of state affairs. "Pundit! these 20,000 soldiers of mine and the *mahāthera, saṅghathera* and the monks I am sending to propagate the Religion." I replied: "*Mahārāja* ! All these soldiers, all these monks, will be steadfast only if there is paddy. Is not paddy the root of the prosperity of the kingdom? If these soldiers continously eat nothing but minced toddy, will they not all die of pains in the stomach? And the remaining (?) monks, also, durst not enter (?) the kingdom (or capital). And if they run away into the jungle, they are all bound to die! O King! is not your work finished? A man who plants a garden, pours water and make the tree grow. He would never pinch the tips. Only when the tree have fruited, he eats the fruit. First pour water on the kingdom of *Tam̀pratik*! Small it is, but the Religion is most excellent. O King! are you not one who prays for the boon of Buddhahood? Grant that the religion of Father *Kotama* be not destroyed! The Kingdoms that you, O King, have conquered are very many and very great. *Tam̀pratit* kingdom is small, a mere appendage. Because there is the Religion, the *Bodhisattva* prefers (?) the kingdom. Let not the soldiers enter yet! As for me, I shall first plant rice and beans. When the rice and beans are full grown, then enter!"
>
> Thus I replied; and the *Taruk* king said : "In these words my profit also is included. Pundit! Call the monks who were running hither and thither at the time of your coming and plant rice and beans. When they are full grown, then send them onto me!" When he had said thus, I had to go. And there was indeed a respite (? or delay).
>
> Out of gratitude to me for this, the king gave me 400 *pay* of land at *Hanlan* and 400 *pay* of land at *Kram̀tū*, including monsoon and dry weather paddy land and nursery-land – altogether 800 *pay* with slaves and cattle. All these I dedicate to the Three Gems at the *cetī* of *Panpwat rap* – the Turners' Quarter.

According to this inscription, when the *Taruk* came, the king did not go down to Bassein as mentioned in the chronicles[1] but took to the hills on the west of the capital or Prome. On the suggestion of his ministers *Anantapican̈* (probably the minister who objected to the execution of the envoys in 1273) and *Mahāpuiw*, he sent *Disāprāmuk* to *Taytu* who arrived there in about December 1285. The *Taruk* came under command of Prince *Susuttaki* (?Hsüeh-hsüeh-ti-chin) and they were twenty thousand strong. Among them there were also monks from seventy monasteries under the leadership of *Mahāthera Puññadhammika* who were to propagate Buddhism at Pagan. While negotiations were in progress, the enemy was in occupation of *Sam̀thway* (Tagaung). *Disāprāmuk* said that he was successful in persuading the *Taruk* king to recall his army so that the kingdom of *Tam̀pratit* might revive from the devastations of the invading army and send tribute soon. Everybody concerned at that time might think that the troubles were over. Unfortunately it was only a truce. The king on his way to the capital in 1287 passed through Prome where one of his sons poisoned him and internal troubles followed in the wake of it. The Yunnan governmant saw opportunities of taking advantage of this internal dissension and so disregarding the imperial orders, came

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1. *Hmannan*, para 147; *GPC*. p.175.

down to Pagan with Prince Ye--sin Timur at its head and occupied the city. But they helped the royal family to re-establish itself. Thus, the next king after *Tarukpliy* was *Rhuynansyañ*.[1] who was anointed king on Monday, 12 Waxing of *Mlwaytā*, S. 651 (30 May 1289). He sent his son *Siṅghapati* to receive investiture from the emperor,[2] but in A.D. 1297, he became *ñan kla mañ*[3] - the dethroned king, i.e. he was dethroned. Perhaps *Rhuynansyañ* and *Siṅghapti* were put to death for being in league with the Mongols to put the country under foreign control. In an inscription dated 1302, we find mention of *Taruk praññā so Taktaumū maṅkrī*[4] - the great king *Taktaumū* who went to the city of *Taruk*, which supports the fact that a scion of the fallen house went to Yunnan as a rival of *Conac* for the throne of Pagan. Perhaps this *Taktaumū* is *Kumāra Kassapa* (Kou-ma-la-kia-chipa-sou-tan-pa-tcho-li) of the Chinese accounts. But the king of Pagan was king only in name. *Asaṅkhayā*[5] established himself at Myinsaing, his brother *Rājasaṅkram* at Mekkaya and their youngest brother *Sīhasū* at Pinle.[6] These three were the real rulers and the king was a mere puppet in their hands. They dethroned *Rhuynansyañ* in 1297 and put *Conac* on the throne. He was mentioned as *Sīri Tribhavanādittyāpavaradhammarāja Mañ Lulañ*[7] or *Talasukri*[8] in the inscriptions. *Taktaumū* was successful in convincing the Mongols that he was a better claimant to the throne of Pagan. So the Mongols came again in 1300. This time the objective was not Pagan but Myinzaing under *Asaṅkhayā* and his two brothers who perhaps played upon the nationalist sentiments against Mongol suzerainty and had been able even to take back Singu and Male from foreign control. The brothers were driven to defensive warfare only and their town was besieged. Gold offered by them, and summer heat of the dry zone of central Burma persuaded the enemies to raise the siege and go back.[9] The province of Chêng-mien was formally abolished on 4 April 1303. Whether it was gold or heat that defeated the invaders, the three brothers put it on record as being due to their military prowess.

> / *atu mañ tha so* / *cac sūkrī phlac so* / *Siri Asaṅkhyā* / *Rāja* / *Sīhasū mañ so* / *Taruk cac kuiw nhip nañ nuiñ sa* / *ñī ackuiw 3 yok...*[10]

> Lords of the War without peer, Glorious *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rāja* and *Sīhasū* - the three brothers who suppressed the *Taruk* army . . .

From *Aniruddha* to *Tarukpliy* there were eleven kings of the Pagan Empire which at

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1. Pl. 282[1], Pl. 287a[4], Pl. 417[2]
2. E. Huber "La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan" *BEFEO*, IX, p. 670
3. Pl. 286[2]
4. Pl. 396a[4], Pl. 396b[1]
5. Pl. 417[2]
6. These three places belong to the Eleven Villages. See Map 2
7. Pl. 290b[3], Pl. 2922[8]
8. Pl. 392[16]
9. The popular story about this is that although the commanders of the invading army took the bribe, they did one act of good turn by letting their men help on the Kyaukse irrigation works and thus the Thindwe canal was constructed. (Harvey: *Burma*, p. 77) Unfortunately we find the mention of *Sañhway Mroñ* in an inscription dated A.D. 1197 (Pl. 20a[2]) and therefore it is impossible to believe that the canal was only constructed in 1300 by the Chinese. If the Chinese had any thing at all to do with the canal it probably was repairing it. See below p.43, n. 2
10. Pl. 276a[4-5]. See below p. 40

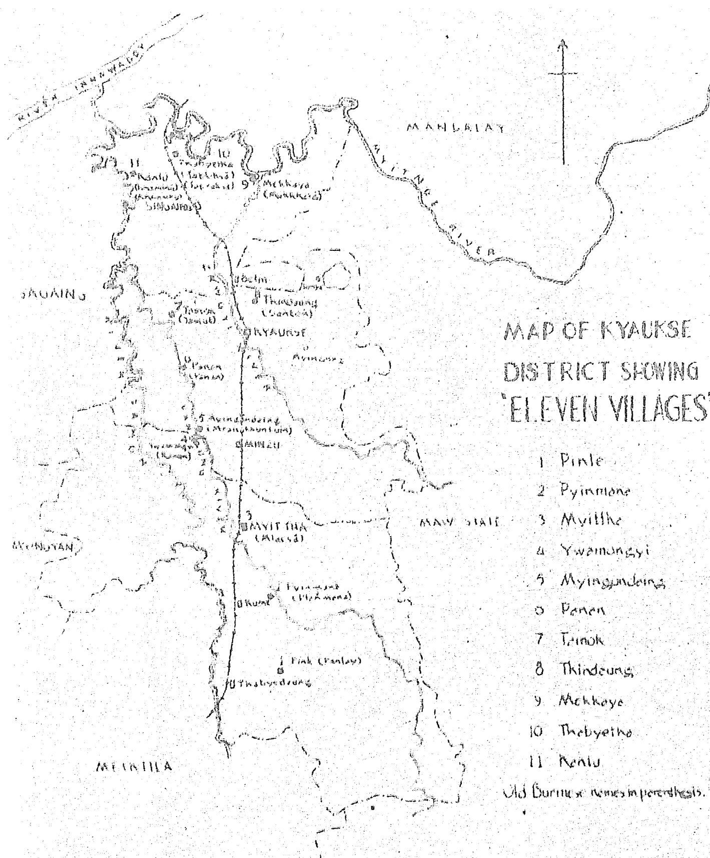
the zenith of its power probably included the whole stretch of land:

> / *Pukaṁ añā Noṅ U ca so Ñā Choṅ Khyaṁ tuiṅ oṅ Pukaṁ akriy Sariypaccarā ca sa kā Taway tuiṅ oṅ*...[1]
>
> from *Noṅ U* to *Ñā Choṅ Khyaṁ* upstream of *Pukaṁ* and from *Sariypaccarā* to *Taway* downstream of *Pukaṁ*.

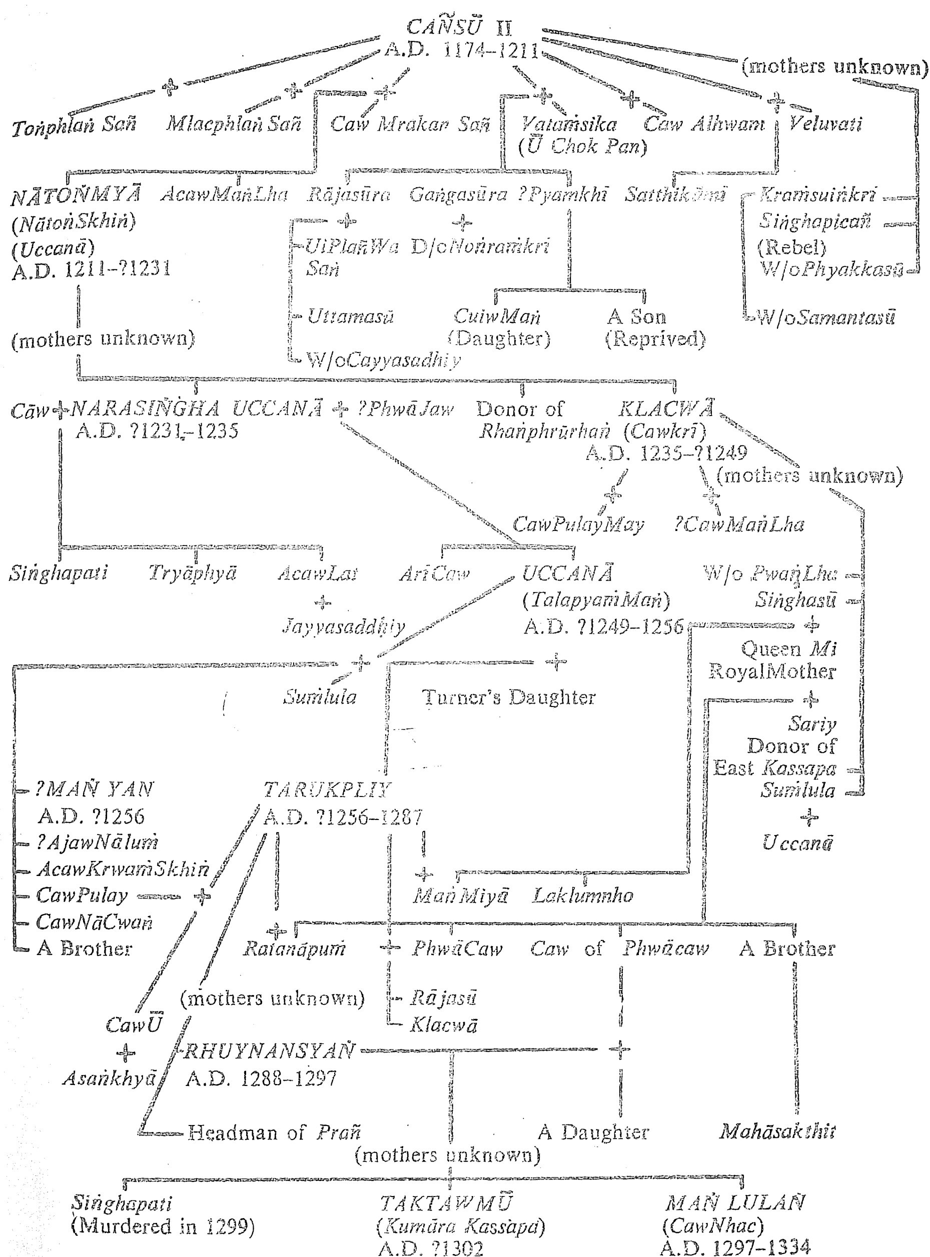
The Salween river was the eastern boundary but in the west, although the chronicles claim that Arakan was in the empire[2] we find no epigraphic evidence to prove it. Probably the lords of Arakan recognized the suzerainty of Pagan. It seems that the city of Pagan was founded in about tenth century or early eleventh century and it remained the capital city right down to the end of the thirteenth century which is a very long time for a city in Burma. The best days were during the reigns of *Cañsū* II and *Nātoṅmyā*. The Mon language was the official language of Burma until the death of *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* in A.D. 1113 and the Burmese culture was very much under the influence of Mon in those days. Some historians prefer to call this early period 'the Mon period of the Pagan dynasty'. Then there was the transition period from 1113 to 1174 where the burmanization movement set in. Therefore, it was only from 1174 that the Burmans could have there own way both politically and culturally. After *Nātoṅmyā* the empire began to decline. Probably the central government had lost control over the outlying parts of the empire and bandits and robbers infested the countryside. King *Klacwā* tried to improve the administration and check its downhill run but was not successful. The kings that followed *Klacwā* were easy going as was wont to happen in a comparatively long dynasty. Mon whom *Aniruddha* conquered in A.D. 1057 made an attempt to revive their national freedom early in the reign of *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* but the king's diplomacy averted the danger to the empire. They never tried it again until the time of *Tarukpliy*. The king was inefficient and so internal troubles alone could have destroyed the empire. But the final blow came from the Mongols. They wanted recognition of their overlordship which the Burmans proudly refused. Even when the capital city was occupied, the Mongols tried to help the royal family to re-establish itself but there were no more great kings to weld the empire together again. Thus the story of Pagan ends with the story of a king whose name goes down into posterity as the king who fled from the Chinese.

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1. Pl. 423[22–23]
2. Conquest of Arakan in A.D. 1118. See Harvey: *Burma*, p. 45


MAP OF KYAUKSE
DISTRICT SHOWING
'ELEVEN VILLAGES'
1 Pinle
2 Pyinmane
3 Myittha
4 Ywamungyi
5 Myingundeing
6 Panan
7 Tamok
8 Thindaung
9 Mekkaye
10 Thebyetha
11 Kanlu
Old Burmese names in parenthesis.

Genealogical Table of the Latter Half of the Pagan Dynasty



CHAPTER III

BURMESE ADMINISTRATION 1044–1287

THE traditional date for the foundation of Pagan which was to become the centre of the Burmese power in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries is A.D. 849. But if the theory that the Burmans came into Burma sometime after the Nanchao raids of A.D. 832-5 is acceptable, the year A.D. 849-50 for establishing their capital at Pagan would be too soon. It might have been founded in the 10th century.[1]

Before Pagan became the centre of the Burmese Empire which King *Aniruddha* and his successors built, there were many other Burmese centres or settlements around Pagan which would have had an equal chance of becoming centres themselves as they were all under the rule of local chiefs who invariably enjoyed the title of *maṅ*[2] - the king. Subsequently the *maṅ* of Pagan became *maṅkrī*[3] - the great king-and was recognised as the leader of all Burmans. It seems that the Burmans when they entered Burma settled first in the fertile area called *chai ta rwā*[4] – eleven villages, in the Kyaukse district. These eleven settlements were *Paṅlay, Plaññanā, Mlacsā, Raṅun, Mraṅkhuntuiṅ, Panan, Tamut, Saṅtoṅ, Makkharā, Taplaksā,* and *Khaṁlhū*[5]. They spread out fanwise and dominated central Burma. The inscriptions of our period mention very often these first settlements in the Kyaukse area. They used the term *khruin*[6] to denote their first home and *tuik*[7] and *tuik*[8] for the nearby places where they moved into subsequently. The word *nuiṅṅaṁ*[9] came into use only when *Aniruddha* and his successors were able to enlarge their power and subjugate the neighbouring more or less alien settlements extending from *Koṅcaṅ* in the north to *Taluiṅsare* and *Tawai* in the south.[10] Of *Cañsū II* (1174-1211) it is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1196[11] that he ruled an empire which extended from *Takoṅ* and *Ñachoṅkhyaṁ* in the north to *Salaṅkre*[12] and *Sacchitani* in the south and from *Macchakiri* (Chin Hills) in the west to the *Salwaṅ* (River Salween) in the east. In A.D. 1292 soon after the Mongol invasion King *Rhuynansyaṅ* (Kyawzwa) claimed that his empire had *Ñachoṅtiwā* in the north and *Tawai* in the south as its boundaries.[13] This claim was rather of the past. But according to the above mentioned inscription of A.D. 1196 which gives the extent of the empire at the height of its power we find that the Pagan monarchy held sway over an area which is roughly the same as modern Burma with the exception of Arakan in the west, the trans-Salween area in the east and the major portion of the modern Kachin state in the north.

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1. See above pp. 1-3. See also *JBRS*, XLII, i, 80
2. Pl. 143a[16], etc.
3. Pl. 10a[1], Pl. 19a[14], etc.
4. Pl. 162[24-5]
5. See Map 2.
6. Pl. 31[11] (6 *khruin*)
7. Pl. 12[15], Pl. 20a[12], Pl. 423[12]
8. See *JBRS*, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 14
9. Pl. 19a[6], Pl. 276a[2]
10. Pl. 19a[9], Pl. 276a[2], Pl. 277[5], Pl. 423[22]
11. Pl. 19a
12. *Salaṅkre* probably is Cape Salang.
13. Pl. 276a[2]

The King of Pagan was an absolute monarch and his word was law. From *Aniruddha* down to the last days of Thibaw the idea of absolutism prevailed and therefore Sir George Scott's remark on Burmese monarchy is worth repeating here.

> The King's power was absolute; his only restraint were his voluntary respect for Buddhist rules and precepts, general for all believers or particular to the kingly estate. Otherwise he was lord and master of the life and property of every one his subjects. No hereditary rank or title existed in the kingdom except in the royal family. Outside of that the king was the source of all honours. Official position was the only sign of rank and all officials were appointed or dismissed at the king's will. Dismissal usually meant absolute ruin, a step from the court to the gaol. On the other hand, any one, not a slave or an outcast might aspire to the highest offices in the state. The country and people were entirely at the disposal of the king and the only check on misrule was the fear of insurrection[1].

The inscriptions of our period express similar ideas on kingship. King *Aniruddha* is mentioned as *cakkrawatiy*[2] - the Lord of the Universe. Queen *Phwa Jaw* when dedicating slaves and lands in A.D. 1272 described her husband King *Narasiṅgha* - *Uccanā* as

> *riy mliy khapsim̄ so askhiṅ phlac tha so mlat cwā so ñā laṅ skhiṅ maṅkrī*[3]
>
> my most excellent husband, lord the king, lord of all water and land.

About her grandson King *Tarukpliy* she said :

> *// asariy hiy so purhā tryā saṅghā ratanā sum̄ pā nhuik // ruiw siy mlat tha so sū taw takā e, kuiw kway rā phlac tha so // alwam̄ so maṅtakā nhaṅ ñī ñwat tha so // chañ phlū ca so ratanā apoṅ aphaw skhiṅ phlac tha so // Jambudip klwaṅ nhuik thwan so niy kay suiw ahiṅ caw aroṅ tok pa tha so // asariy hiy so // Sri Tribhuwanādityapawaradhammarājā // Utcanā mañ so maṅkrī //*[4]
>
> King *Utcanā* also called *Sri Tribhawanādityapawaradhammarājā* the Glorious, who shines with colour, fame and influence like the sun resplendent on *Jambudipa* island; who is the lord and comrade of all the jewels headed by the White Elephant; who is at peace with kings spread all over the world; who is the refuge of all good people who revere and honour the Three Glorious Gems.

King *Klacwā* enjoyed even greater praise as he was described as

> *Arimāttapūra mañ so prañ nhuik // acuiw ra so alwan akay phun tan khiuw krī cwā tha so Klacwā maṅkrī*
>
> The Great King, an exceedingly powerful Lord of *Arimaddanapura.*

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1. G. Scott: *GUBSS*, I ii, p. 469
2. Pl. 160a[6]
3. Pl. 235[10-11]
4. Pl. 234[1-4] and Pl. 247[2-5]
5. Pl. 246[1-2]

In all these expressions the prevailing idea was that the king was the most powerful person in the state and being the lord of land and water he was also the lord of life and death as land and water were the source of all life. Practically there was no check to this kind of absolutism except the fear of insurrection as Sir George Scott has rightly observed. But in view of the fact that Buddhism was flourishing in those days, religion had an enormous influence upon the kings. A king was always looked upon as *purhā lon*[1] - a future Buddha, and thus being a *Boddhisattva* he was supposed to be pious, kind and indulgent. When he was dealing with the clergy, he was wise not to offend them. The following instance will show us how a despot was held in check when he made a false step that aroused the opposition of the Order. There was an *Araññavāsika* sect of Buddhists getting more and more popular during the latter half of the Pagan dynasty. There are many inscriptions[2] recording the monks of this sect as buying up land especially in the Chindwin area and thus increasing the religious land which was a disadvantdge to the royal treasury as the king could get no revenue out of these lands. In addition to these, wealthy people and officials were in the habit of dedicating their lands to religious establishments. It seems that King *Klacwā* decided to stop this loss of revenue by confiscating the religious lands. In A.D. 1235, soon after his accession he started taking over these lands and consequently the monks raised an objection which compelled him to appoint a royal commission to look into this matter. The commission decided in favour of the monks and as a result the king had to relinquish his claims.[3] This instance gives us two important facts. Firstly, that the kings of Burma were not always surrounded by mere sycophants and opportunists. They used wise people and followed their advice in times of crisis. Appointing a commission to settle a big problem was a usual practice except in the case of a haughty monarch like *Tarukpliy* who refused counsel on the eve of the Mongol invasion.[4] In an inscription dated A.D. 1291 it is mentioned that in the king's presence there are always *sampyan kalan sunayto hurā smā sukhamin*[5] - executive officers, squires, astrologers, doctors of medicine and scholars. On the strength of Kyanzittha's Palace Inscription (A.D. 1101-2)[6] we may venture to assume that the astrologers were Brahmans. Another inscription tells us that immediately after his accession in A.D. 1235, King *Klacwā* gave a hundred *pay* of land to Brahman astrologers who probably conducted his coronation.[7] Secondly, when confronted with an opposition which might prove fatal, even an ambitious king like *Klacwā* deemed it wise to yield.

Although the king was the most important figure in the state, he could not possibly run the government alone. As the empire grew he had to appoint ministers and officers to help him in the administration. The ministers were called by the Sanskrit name *amātya* and the word wungyi for a minister, meaning one having a great responsibility, was not yet in use. Very often *amātya* was shortened into *amat* with a suffix *kri* to denote the chief

1. Pl. 36^{3}, Pl. $115^{3,5}$, Pl. $143a^{9}$, Pl. 181^{5}, etc.
2. Pl. 268, Pl. 380, Pl. 395, Pl. 423, etc.
3. Pl. 90^{15-16}, Pl. $231b^{6}$
4. *Hmannan*, para. 147; *GPC*, p. 173
5. Pl. 272^{18}
6. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, IX
7. Pl. 102^{18}

minister. There was no distinction between civil and military offices and any minister or officer was bound to lead a military campaign when necessary. Thus when making a dedication in A.D. 1223 the donor *Anantasūra* described himself as *amattya* // *mahāsenāpati*[1] – minister and commander-in-chief of King *Nātoṅmyā*. Including this *Anantasūra*, there were altogether five ministers at *Nātoṅmyā*'s court. The remaining four were *Asaṅkyā*, *Aswat*, *Rājasaṅkraṁ* and *Caturaṅgasū*.[2] Incidentally we have to note here that it destroys the traditional belief in Burma about the Hluttaw – the chief administrative office and its four ministers. This tradition starts with *Nātoṅmyā*'s reign when the king, it is said, had four elder brothers who took a great interest in the administration and eventually became four ministers of the king. Epigraphic evidence gives us five ministers and unfortunately none of them are mentioned as having any blood relationship with the king. These five ministers quelled the rebellion headed by *Pyaṁkhī* and *Siṅghapicañ*, the half-brothers of the king and therefore they earned a rich reward of seven hundred *pay* of land each for bravery when suppressing the rebellion. This also is clear evidence that there was no sharp demarcation between civil and military duties. There was another trouble in the north (at Tagaung) during *Nātoṅmyā*'s reign and an officer named *Lakkhāna Lakway* was sent to settle it. He came back in triumph and was richly rewarded.[4] Towards the end of the dynasty, the title *cac sūkrī* was conferred upon ministers during the time when they were in active service. For example, the three Shan brothers *Asaṅkhayā*, *Siṅghasū* and *Rājasaṅkraṁ* who became popular after the Mongol invasion were usually mentioned as *amatkrī* or *saṁpyaṅ krī*.[1] But in an inscription dated A.D. 1292 they were addressed as *cacsūkrī* - generals, in the following manner:

> *Pukam maṅkrī e tū phlac tha so / atu mañ tha so / cac sūkrī phlac so / Siri Asaṅkyā / Rāja / Sīhasū mañ so / Taruk cac kuiw nhip naṅ nuiṅ sa / ñī ackuiw 3 yok*[2]
>
> equals of the great king of Pagan, incomparable (in bravery), Lords of the War, Glorious *Asaṅkhyā*, *Rāja* and *Sīhasū* - the three brothers who subdued the *Taruk* army.

During *Klacwā*'s reign the chief minister was *Manorāja*[3] who was probably also called *Manurāja*[4] which names closely associate with *Manu* – the law giver. It is also possible that he was a noted judge of the time. He held a very important position as being *Koṅcaṅ Mahāsaman*[5] – the Viceroy of Kaungsin and *kuiwmhu*[6] – Commander of the Life Guard. This is also another instance of a combined responsibility for civil and military services in one person.

Next to the ministers, there were *saṁpyaṅ* and *kalan* who were executive officers no

1. Pl. 73[1]
2 & 3 Pl. 42[17], Pl. 190a[12]
4. Pl. 231b[1]
5. Pl. 274[15], Pl. 282[14], Pl. 291[11], Pl. 297[30]
6. Pl. 276a[3-5]
7. Pl. 231b[6]
8. Pl. 331b[7]
9. Pl. 158[20-1]
10. Pl. 234[30]

doubt but the nature of whose service is not known yet. *Kalan* seems to be slightly subordinate to the *sampyan* and *sampyan* is often found as a term interchangeable with the word *amat* (minister) in the inscriptions of the latter half of the dynasty.[1] Even the chief minister *Manorāja* mentioned above, and who was also known as *Mahāsaman* – the Viceroy – was in one instance mentioned as *sampyan Mahāsaman*.[2] In the like manner the Commander-in-Chief *Anatasūra* of King *Nātonmyā* was also known as *sampyan Anantasūra*.[3] There were also judges addressed by the name *tryā sampyan*.[4] Therefore one wonders whether we should put *sampyan* on an equal status with *amātya* though the term today has lost its former importance and means only an official of inferior rank.[5] King *Thiluin Man* is popularly known as Kyanzittha and we assume that the name is the corruption *kalan cacsā* - the Officer Prince If *kalan* means only a village headman as is the modern interpretation, we are doing injustice to our popular hero who was the *man* – king, of Htihlaing before he became *mankri* - the great king, of Pagan. It seems that *Kalan* was an executive officer of a fairly high rank. Professor G. H. Luce gives us a very useful note on these two words.

> SAMPYAN ; KALAN : These are probably Mon words in origin, though very common in Old Burmese, *Cāp sumban* seems to occur as a title in the oldest Mon inscription, found at Lopburi, Siam and dating from the 8th century (see *BEFEO*, XXV, 186; XXX, 83-4). *Sumben* (or *samben*) and *Kalm* occur frequently in Kyanzitttha Palace Inscription (*Ep. Birm.*, III,i,IX); the former also an Old Mon terracotta plaques found at Tavoy and elsewhere (*ASB.*, 1924, pp. 38-40).[6]

It seems that these ministers and high officers of the court needed to have a high standard of education though in some cases a favourite might rise to a high position. In an inscription dated A.D. 1278 the educational qualification of a minister was mentioned as follows.

> *// pitakat sum pum le tat cwā tha sa // sansakruit byakāruin hurā smā amhū le tat tha so // caturangabījay man so // amat krī san plu so klon arap nhuik //*[7]
>
> At the place where the monastery built by the great minister called *Caturangabījay* who is well versed in the Three *Pitaka*, as well as learned in Sanskrit, Grammar, Astrology and Medicine, stands . . .

Besides these *amat*, *sampyan* and *kalan*, there were other officers at the court. All of them invariably come under the general term *mankhyan*[8] - companions of the king, or

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1. Pl. 274[15], Pl. 282[14], Pl. 291[11], etc.
2. Pl. 268[3]
3. Pl. 78b[11]
4. Pl. 78b[9]
5. Judson: *Burmese-English Dictionary*, 1893, p. 186
6. *JBRS.*, XXX, i, 305. Mr. H. L. Shorto reasons that *sampyan* and *kalan* are not Mon in origin as the Siamese Mon inscriptions quoted ; these words are rather names than official posts and although these names occur in Mon inscriptions of Pagan it does not necessarily mean that they are Mon words as Mon was used only to describe scenes in a Burmese court. It is also a possible view.
7. Pl. 289[3-5]
8. Pl. 257[6], Pl. 268[10,11,30]

6 - U.P. Q.144 - 1000 - 23-8-78 ,

mañce[1] - servants of the king, or *mañlulañ*[2] - youths of the king. There was also another set of courtiers called *sūñayto*[3] - squires. Probably they were the king's favourites who grew up with him. In one case *sūñaytoau* was mentioned together with *mūchuiw*[4] - the hunters. There were also secretaries and clerks who were mentioned as *atwañruy*,[5] *cāmroñ*[6], *cākhīpuiw*[7] and *cākhī*[8] who wrote down the orders of the king and passed them on to the executive officers. Incidentlly one *cākhīpuiw* was a concubine of King *Tarukpliy*.[9] In despatching royal orders to the districts, the king had *mrañci*[10] - mounted couriers-probably under an officer *mrañ sūkrī*.[11]

As judicial assistants to the king there were *samphama*.[12] An inscription dated A.D. 1218 gives a clear definition of the word *samphama*. It says : *rhiy taw niy amu chañ khrañ so samphama tuiw*[13] - the judges of the royal court who try the legal cases. The judges and magistrates had other designations also. They were called *tryā sūkrī*[14] as today or simply *tryā*[15] which also means a law suit or the legal code or the Dharma. In another case the name *amhu cuiw*[16] was used to signify a judge possibly of civil suits in contrast to a judge of petty theft cases as *khuiw sūkrī*[17]. The clerk attached to a *khui sūkrī* was called a *khuiw tryā cākhī*.[18] There were also woman judges.[19] As for the officers of the districts there were *tuik sūkrī*[20] to look after the *tuik* – province, *mruiw sūkrī*[21] to look after the fort and *rwā sūkrī*[22] to look after the village and *kī sūkrī*[23] to look after the king's granaries. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 there is the mention of a woman *kliy sūkrī*[24] - officer who looked after the suburb of the city, and at the same time she was described as a junior queen of the king.

As revenue surveyors, there were *pay tuiñ*[25] officers. In an inscription dated A.D. 1244 the donor is mentioned as *puin sūkrī Sattya* or *puil sūkrī Sattya*.[26] We do not know which is the right spelling nor do we know the function of this office. As the rice

1. Pl. 215b[6]
2. Pl. 290b[2]
3. Pl. 234[25], Pl. 257[6], Pl. 272[18], Pl. 273[18], Pl. 277[21], Pl. 282[14], Pl. 385[15]
4. Pl. 274[16]
5. Pl. 207[13-16]
6. Pl. 235[45]
7. Pl. 232[2,18]
8. Pl. 268[13]
9. Pl. 232[2]
10. Pl. 222b[14]
11. Pl. 254a[1]
12. Pl. 161b[3], Pl. 285[17], Pl. 598a[12,22]
13. Pl. 574[3,6]
14. Pl. 191b[8]
15. Pl. 560[17]
16. Pl. 421b[17]
17. Pl. 241[5]
18. Pl. 269[13]
19. Pl. 174[11]
20. Pl. 12[15], Pl. 296[17,18]
21. Pl. 370[23]
22. Pl. 264[2]
23. Pl. 162[24]
24. Pl. 196[5]
25. Pl. 307b[4], Pl. 574a[8]
26. Pl. 153a[2,10]

land of Kyaukse was entirely dependent upon irrigation, there must have been special officers to supervise the irrigation. Unfortunately we find very little mention of the canals in the inscriptions. In an inscription of A.D. 1220 one officer called *Suwannapijañ* is mentioned as the officer in charge of digging a canal.[1] In passing we must note that the Thindwe canal was not constructed by the Mongols in A.D. 1301 as the chronicles say because we find the mention of *Santhway Mroṅ* as early as A.D. 1198.[2]

To guard the frontiers troops were probably garrisoned at strategic points and these guards it seems were mostly non-Burmans. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions the presence of *Cakraw kaṅ sañ*[3] - ?Sagaw guards at the *Chiptoṅ* (Poison Mountains) outpost, somewhere in the north of Kyaukse district. There was a group of people who used to have *kuṁthaṅ*[4] or *bhumma*[5] as prefixes to their names and they figured as important people in the sale of land, or in helping the revenue collectors. The actual nature of their duty is not known but it seems that they belonged to the landed gentry. In villages there were also *saṅkrī* and *saṅlyaṅ* who were supposed to be elders of the village. Perhaps they were president and vice-president of a local *saṅ* - an association of some sort. Generally they were males[6] but sometimes we find the term being prefixed to the name of a woman like *saṅkrī Uiw, Si Saṅ*,[7] but to make the matter more confused, it is also used as a prefix for some monks[8] or as *kloṅ saṅkrī*[9] - the *saṅkrī* of the monastery. If the word *sāṅkrī* is used exclusively for the monks we could understand that *saṅ* being the short form for *saṅghā* - the Order, *saṅkrī* must mean a chief monk. But unfortunately, it is not the case. At the present stage, all we know about this word is that it means some very respectable person or a monk and if he be a layman *saṅkrī* he had some administrative duty in his locality. There were also *tuiṅ saṅkrī*,[10] *tuin sūkrī*[11] and *tuiṅ sañ*[12] whose names were always associated with land transactions and they were employed to put up boundary pillars or inscription pillars recording the dedications. They also figured as very important persons in law suits concerning land and were often ordered by the judges to put up the boundary pillars.[13]

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1. Pl. 372[3]
2. *Hmannan, para.* 150; Pl. 40a[2]; *Census of India*, 1931; XI, i, p. 300, n. 11; and *JBRS*, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 18. See also *JBRS*, XLII, i, 43 and 68 and , *BRFSFAP*. II, p. 344, n. 18
3. Pl. 162[5]
4. Pl. 162[24], Pl. 250[33]
5. Pl. 224[2,6], Pl. 268[6,7]
6. Pl. 75a[45], Pl. 77[6], Pl. 113[8], etc.
7. Pl. 53[9], Pl. 124a[3]
8. Pl. 6[9]
9. Pl. 367a[8]
10. Pl. 257[32]
11. Pl. 257[31], Pl. 578b[9], Pl. 598a[16,19]
12. Pl. 257[19]
13. Pl. 387[4]

To do away with the pillar they set up was a serious offence. An inscription records that in A.D. 1226 a person called *Byagghasūra*, probably an officer, dedicated five hundred and five *pay* of land and a *saṁphama* or judge of the royal court ordered *saṅkrī Ṅa Phway Saṅ* and *saṅlyaṅ Ṅa Waṁ Sā Saṅ* to put up the boundary stones. *Tanluiṅ Ṅa Rac* and party destroyed them and therefore they were fined one hundred (ticals) of *ṅuy pyan* - pure silver.[1] One can imagine how serious the offence was to be fined one hundred ticals of silver when a tical bought nearly two acres of good paddy land.[2]

It seems that all dedications of land to the religious establishments were to be reported to the king and in one inscription it is mentioned that no less a person than the chief minister *Mahāsman* recorded it in the royal register.[3] But there must have been a special officer to do this registration. We find that *Aswat* one of the five ministers of *Nātoṅmyā* was described as the *aklaṁ taṅ so maṅ amat*[4] - the Royal Registrar. In a law suit between *Mahākassapa* and *Cakraw* guards of *Chiptoṅ*, the judgment was passed in favour of *Māhākassapa* because the dedication of the land in question was found recorded in the royal register.[5] Usually in such cases, after the judgment was pronounced, the judge ordered it to be put on record. The regular phrase for this order is *amūkwaṅ khat ciy*.[6] Some times the phrase *cā khyup e*[7] - to fix by written words was used. One might safely presume that the rulings were written on palm leaves as *piy cā taṅ lat rakā*[8] - being recorded on the palm leaves, occurs in some inscriptions. But in certain very important cases, a special record was made. For example an inscription has :

> / *amokwan taṅ e' lakpaṁ klyaṁ 2 thap akrā thaṅ rwak cā hi e'* //[9]
>
> It is recorded on a toddy palm (*terminalia oliveri*) leaf which is put between two boards of a cotton tree (*bombax malabaricum*) wood.

Anything that should go on record concerning royalty was put in a separate register. The *Jayapavattati* inscription says that a dedication made by *Nātoṅmyā* eight years after his accession was by his orders put on record by four officers in *athak caraṅ*[10] - an upper register.

In a law suit, after the judge had pronounced his verdict, if the parties were happy about the judgement, they ate pickled tea together. That was the custom in Burma before the English came. But when it started is a moot point. We find no mention of such practice in the inscriptions dating up to A.D. 1300. There is even no mention of *lbhak* -

1. Pl. 574b7-8
2. Pl. 2683
3. Pl. 28315
4. Pl. 966
5. Pl. 1628
6. Pl. 215b12, Pl. 23537, Pl. 245b8, Pl. 266a12, Pl. 598a21
7. Pl. 27220, Pl. 27418
8. Pl. 29625
9. Pl. 4175-5
10 Pl. 905,11

pickled tea, in any inscription. Instead of this practice of eating pickled tea together, old Burmans sat down to a feast where a great quantity of meat and liquor was consumed. They did the same thing after every land transaction. Even if one party was a monk, the price of land included *siy phuiw sā phuiw*[1] the price for liquor and the price for meat. For example *Mahākassapa* bought one thousand *pay* of land from the *Sāaw* at the price of a tical per *pay* and at the end of the transaction the *Sāaw* were given a feast when *thamaṅ phuiw siy phuiw sā phuiw*[2] - the price for cooked rice, meat and drink - amounted to fifty-four ticals. They were not satisfied with that and so they were given two and a quarter ticals again for the price of liquor. Professor G. H. Luce's note on this custom is reproduced below.

> It seems that this custom was strongest in outlying regions and that it became increasingly common after the fall of Pagan. Very likely it was a survival of the old drunken sacrificial rites of pre-Buddhist Burma which still continue in the Chin Hills, Wa States, Karenni and elsewhere.[3]

A very interesting law suit in which the rival claimants quarrelled for three generations is recorded in an inscription dated A.D 1262.[4] The substance of the inscription is given below. In A.D. 1187 (i.e. during *Cañsū* II's reign) Lord *Caku Krī* gave some of his lands to the monastery of the Chief Monk called *Ṅa Tit Saṅ*. The chief monk caused a water tank to be constructed and turned the land into a paddy field. It seems that the land was wasteland before this. Lord *Caku Krī* expressed his wonder at this change and made a solemn vow that the land he had thus dedicated in support of the religion would not be included in his estates that his descendants would inherit when he passed away. Thus the land became dedicated permenantly to the monastery where the chief monk *Ṅa Tit Saṅ* was head. *Ṅa Tit Saṅ* enjoyed the produce of the land during his life time. After *Ṅa Tit Saṅ*, *Skhin Upacaṅ* became head of the monastery. During *Skhin Upacaṅ*'s life time, a devotee called *Ṅa Ciñcim Saṅ* planted toddy palms around the water tank. *Skhiṅ Upacaṅ* also enjoyed the produce of the land during all his life time. Then *Skhiṅ Muntoṅ* became head of the monastery and it was during his tenure that one *Uin Mwan Saṅ* the granddaughter of Lord *Caku Krī* claimed the land. When officers *Kaññāran* and *Kaṅkabhatrā* came for inspecting the villages, the case was brought to their notice. One *Ṅa Chañ Saṅ* who was once a monk at the said monastery and who witnessed the occasion when Lord *Cakū Krī* made the dedication was brought before the officers. *Ṅa Chañ Saṅ* said, "I knew and saw Lord *Caku Krī* dedicate this land to the Religion. I was the very man employed to construct the reservoir and dig the well. If *Uin Mwan Saṅ* wants to say to the contary, let her say so in the name of Lord Buddha." With this *Uin Mwan Saṅ* refused to comply. Then in order to put more weight on what he had first spoken, he *dhat khī piy e'*[5] - lifted the relics of Buddha – and repeated his knowledge of the dedication. Witnesses to this act were

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1. See Chapter VIII
2. Pl. 268[8,9]
3. *JBRS*, XXX, i, p- 324, n. 94
4. Pl. 381
5. Pl. 381[17]. See also Pl. 78b[7] and Pl. 191b[11]

the chief monk *Ñoṅ Cok*, the monk *Tuiṅ Ma Lup* and the wealthy man *Ṅā Rok Lway Saṅ*. Thus judgement was passed in favour of the Religion. This was in the year A.D. 1220. *Skhiṅ Muntoṅ* was succeeded by *Sukhamin Sanpoṅ* and *Buddhapā Saṅkri* subsequently. Then in A.D. 1262, *Ṅā Phun Rok Saṅ* and *Ṅa Pa Ṅay*, grandsons of *Cañsawat*, seized the land. *Skhiṅ Sīlakumā*, the then head of the monastery complained. Two officers *Samanta-picañ* and *Rājapuih* took up the case. Twentyfour villagers were summoned to bear witness. All unanimously said that they knew the land having been dedicated by Lord *Caku Krī* to the monastery of *Ṅa Tit Saṅ* and up to the present chief monk *Sīlakumā*, there had been six generations of chief monks enjoying the produce of the land. Thus, the officers decided in favour of the Religion again.

In this law suit, we know how a case was considered and decided in those days. It is also interesting to note that there were two officers who took equal responsibility in deciding the case and that the witness was to lift the relics of Buddha to affirm the truth of what he said. Another important thing that we come across is that the Pagan inscriptions made no mention of the *Dhammasattha*[1] - the Code of Law, or *Rājasattha* – the Rulings, which were in general use in post Pagan periods. Therefore it is tempting to conclude that there is no truth in the *Dhammasattha* of Burma claiming antiquity. For example, Dr. Forchhammer says that the date for the *Dhammavilāsa Dhammasat* is given as A.D. 1172.[2] It is said that a *Taluiṅ* monk called *Sariputta* compiled this *Dhammasat* and as a result he received the tittle of *Dhammavilāsa* from King *Cañsū* II (1174–1211). The tutor of *Nātoṅmyā*, son and and successor of *Cañsū* II was a native of Lower Burma, born at *Molañā* village to the east of *Tala*[3] and this monk was given the title of *Dhammarājaguru* when *Nātoṅmyā* became king. But *Dhammavilāsa* cannot be identified with this *Dhammarājaguru*.

King *Klacwā* made a unique attempt to assure the peace and tranquility of his subjects by issuing an edict against thieves.[4] The edict is dated Thursday 6, May 1249. He decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of the edict pillars have been discovered. He said: "Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words". Then he continued to give various kinds of tortures all of which were direct translations of the relevant portions on punishments from the *Majjhima Nikāyā*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Milanda Pañña*, which were exceedingly cruel in nature. He may not have intended to use these dire punishments. It seems that he was only trying to frighten his subjects into living good lives. With this threat, he probably hoped to have law and order in his realm. There is an interesting passage in this edict, where the word *amunwan* is referred to as a sort of manual for the punishments. It says:

> *khuiw so hut cañ mūkā / amunwan cā kuiw phat ciy e / amunwan cā twaṅ akraṅ sukhuiw sañ / ī mañ so / aplac te plac mū kā / ī mañ so tan piy te piy ap e, hū piy e,//*

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1. Pl. 174[14] (A.D. 1249). The king ordered four judges to consult the *dhammasāt* in a land dispute. This is the only mention of the *dhammasattha* in the inscriptions of our period.

2. Dr. Forchhammer: *The Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 35-6

3. Pl. 63a[14]

4. See above pp. 24–9

> (When a thief is caught and tried,) and found guilty, the *amunwan cā* is read (or referred to). In the *amunwan cā*, what sort of punishment would be given for what sort of crime is mentioned. Then he is punished accordingly.

Although it is difficult to explain what *amunwan cā* exactly means we know by inference that it was some kind of penal code.

We know very little of the revenue administration of the day[1]. A few references however may be gleaned from inscriptions. For instance the land revenue from one hundred *pay* of land was one hundred pieces of loincloth[2] and in another the land revenue from three thousand *pay* of land was one hundred viss of copper and one hundred pieces of linen or if it was in paddy, the revenue was one basket of paddy for each *pay*.[3] From a fishery the revenue was ten viss of copper.[4] Evidently glebe lands were free from taxation. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 a case is recorded where a village headman assessed certain religious land[5]. This was reported to the *Mahāthera Samantabhadrā* who sent *Sūkhamin*'s son to King *Tarukpliy* to inform him of the misdemeanour of one of his officers. The King ordered *Mahāsman* the chief minister to inform the headman that the land was exempted from all taxation in the future. An inscription pillar was set up bearing this royal order together with a curse by the *Mahāthera* which said that if any government official in future attempted to collect revenue from the said land may he be swallowed by the earth and cooked in the *Avīci* hell.

Now, let us look into the story of the origin of the Hluttaw according to the chronicles. *Nātoṅmyā* was the youngest son of King *Cañsū* II, who superseding his four elder brothers became king. Taking up this story Mr. G. E. Harvey goes on to described the appearance of Hluttaw.

> One reason why his brothers loyally accepted his succession was that he virtually abdicated all power into their hands. The four of them met daily and transacted the affairs of the kingdom. Thus was founded the Hluttaw Yon, the Court of the Royal Commission, which remained till the end the council of the ministers.[6]

As mentioned above, *Nātoṅmyā* had five ministers and they were not his brothers. The *Jeyapwat* inscription however has proved that *Nātoṅmyā* was not the youngest son.[7] His name was *Nātoṅmyā*, i.e. the King of Many Ear Ornaments, but it was misread *Nantoṅmyā* meaning "many entreaties for the throne" and so a story had to be invented to explain the name and the story of the Hluttaw appears as a by-product. We find no mention of Hluttaw in the inscriptions of our period. Instead, the Pagan kings had many halls under the name of *kwan* where they granted audiences, and did meritorious deeds such as the giving of alms

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1. Pl. 156^{18}, Pl. 195b$^{7-8}$, Pl. 196$^{2-12}$, Pl. 212^{20}, Pl. 215b^{9}, Pl. 224^{25,25}, Pl. 249$^{34-5}$, Pl. 289^{16}, Pl. 390^{30,31}, Pl. 392^{6}
2. Pl. 392$^{3-4}$
3. Pl. 390$^{30-1}$
4. Pl. 392^{6}
5. Pl. 196
6. Harvey: *Burma*, p. 59
7. Pl. 90^{20}

to the monks or dedicating land and slaves to the religious establishments. The ministers also met at such halls and carried out their various official duties. These halls were *Kwan Prok*[1] - the Variegated Hall, *Kwan Prok Krī*[2] - the Great Variegated Hall, *Kwan Prok Ṅay*[3] the Small Variegated Hall, *Kwan Sāyā*[4] - the Pleasant Hall, *Kwan Mraṅ*[5] - the High Hall, *Chaṅrhu Kwan*[6] - the Hall of Elephant-review and *Caṅkray Kwan*[7] - the Pure Hall. It seems that the *Kwan Prok* was the most important hall and it always had a special caretaker. Incidentally one caretaker of the *Kwan Prok* was referred to as *siy ma sok kwan prok coṅ*[8] - a teetotaller. Probably, the king used this hall to perform his meritorious deeds. In one instance the king poured the water of libation to signify the end of his alms-giving when he was in the *Kwan Prok*.[9] In another it is recorded that after being seated at the top of the *Kwan Prok* the great king made a dedication to the most reverend *Mahāthera*.[10] In an inscription dated A.D. 1275 it is mentioned that all the ministers were present at the *Kwan Prok*[11] - when the king passed an order in connection with the religious land. It suggests that the king and ministers met here daily and carried out their administrative duties.[12] While King *Klacwā* was in the *Kwan Prok Ṅay* he passed an order giving the Queen Dowagar *Phwā Jaw* 150 slaves and 150 *pay* of land.[13] The same inscription records that while King *Klacwā* was holding audience in the *Kwan Prok Ṅay*, the wife of *Siṅghapikraṁ* requested the king to forgive her husband who had been exiled from the capital for his part in the rebellion led by *Siriwadhanā* which occured probably soon after *Klacwā*'s accession in A.D. 1235.[14] We know that *Klacwā* belonged to the junior branch of the royal family[15] and there was a certain group of princes in the court who resented his accession and rebelled. *Siṅghapikraṁ* was one of them. The inscription tells us that he was pardoned but as the price of his pardon, the king confiscated his estates. In A.D. 1262, on the death of his Queen *Ratanāpum*, King *Taruk(pilay)* made a series of dedications and monks were invited to the *Kwan Prok Krī* to receive alms.[16] Regarding *Kwan Sāyā* we have an interesting story[17]. It is recorded that while *Bodhisattva Nātoṅmyā* was at *Kwan Sāyā Chaṅrhu Kwan* - the Pleasant Hall, the Hall of Elephant Review—a Cambodian in his service by the name of *Ṅa Pu Tat* who had once received one hundred and fifty *pay* of land as a reward for bravery, was knocked down by an elephant and broke his leg. *Ṅa Pu Tat* subsequently sold the land to the Pagan ministers. Thus, we know that *Kwan Prok* - the Variegated Hall—was the place where the kings did serious business such as giving audiences and doing meritorious deeds. The *Kwan Sāyā* - the Pleasant Hall—was however, used for amusement only though on some unfortunate

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1. Pl. 79b⁹, Pl. 117a⁷, Pl. 125a², Pl. 228b¹⁸, Pl. 239¹⁷, Pl. 245b⁶, Pl. 266b¹⁵, Pl. 270³⁰, Pl. 274¹¹,¹⁴,¹⁷, Pl. 384¹⁶, Pl. 387b²
2. Pl. 203¹⁶, Pl. 235⁵⁷, Pl. 273¹⁵, Pl. 279¹⁹, Pl. 282¹⁰, Pl. 283¹⁰, Pl. 286², Pl. 290a⁴, Pl. 290b². Pl. 296⁷, Pl. 297²⁸
3. Pl. 234²⁸,³²
4. Pl 54⁷, Pl. 125a¹, Pl. 174⁵, Pl. 186⁵, Pl. 235⁴³, Pl. 239¹¹, Pl. 371b⁸
5. Pl. 196¹, Pl. 364a²
6. Pl. 186⁵, Pl. 239¹¹
7. Pl. 234²⁶
8. Pl. 270³⁰
9. Pl. 274¹⁴
10. Pl. 279²⁰
11. Pl. 245b⁶
12. Pl. 234²⁸
13. Pl. 234²⁸⁻³⁰
14. See above p. 23
15. See above p. 23
16. Pl. 203¹⁶
17. Pl. 186⁶, Pl. 239¹²

occasions as mentioned above, accidents might mar pleasure. King *Cañsū* II once did a meritorious deed while he was in the *Kwan Mran*—the High Hall.[1] One can well imagine that this very High Hall was profusely decorated and became the *Kwan Prok*—the Variegated Hall. There is also mention of *Klacwā* passing an order giving 190 slaves to the Queen Dowager *Phwā Jaw* while he was at *Cankray Kwan*—the Pure Hall.[2] Probably, it was a temporary structure as this is the only reference to such a name and it implies that, as a good Buddhist, the king might have stayed there for a religious purpose alone.

It seems that the Royal Registrar had his office in a separate building because sometimes land dedications were recorded in the register kept at the *Tankup*[3]—the Shed. There is also a mention of *Tankup Rhañ*[4] - the Long Shed, where King *Rhuynansyan* (A.D.1288-98) donated some land to the *Mahāthera Dhammasiri*.

We have the following picture of Burmese administration in medieval times. The king was the most important personage in the realm but he had learned and wise ministers in his council who advised him on important affairs. Then he also had Brahman astrologers who calculated auspicious moments for the starting of all important works. When serious problems arose the king appointed commissions to settle them. In administration, he was helped by ministers who were more or less well versed in the Buddhist scriptures. One of them was styled *amat krī*—the chief minister. There was no distinction between civil and military duties and therefore at times the chief minister himself may have led frontier campaigns. As the northern frontier of his kingdom was very important a viceroy was stationed at *Koñ Can* (near modern Bhamo). It seems that the chief minister was usually viceroy of these northern marches. The government was not divided into administration, judiciary and law, and therefore a minister had to undertake any administrative work which his master the king set him to do. But the presence of *samphama* as special officers trying law suits shows that Burma in medieval times had a distinct judicial body although the customary law was probably not yet codified then. The word *dhammasattha* is mentioned only once in an inscription dated A.D.1249. Probably it refers to an Indian law book. In criminal cases the *amunwan cā* was used as a sort of penal code but unfortunately we are none too sure of its meaning. Embracing the relics of Buddha and declaring that one was telling only the truth was regarded trustworthy and failure to do so was tentamount to an admission of guilt. There were many secretaries and clerks at the king's court to take down all the orders either from the king or one of the ministers. Mounted couriers were used when messages were urgent. It seems that there were fairly good communications between the capital and the provincial administrative centres. The province, the town and the village had their own local administrative officers. At times some of the senior officers from the capital toured the districts and tried cases if necessary. There were special officers assigned to irrigation, land assessment and revenue collection. Revenue was received either in bullion or in kind and many were the royal granaries throughout the realm which stored up the revenue in kind. There were people who had *kuṁtham* and *bhumma* prefixed to their names and it has been supposed that they were the landed gentry. The king's relation with the Order is an important factor in the adminis-

1. Pl.365a[2]
2. Pl.2342[6] (A.D.1294)
3. Pl.2831[5]
4. Pl.2791[2]

7 - UP. Q-144-1000-23-8-78.

tration of Burma. The Buddhist precepts always reminded the king to be just and in some cases, we find monks intervening in politics. The outstanding instance of a monk helping to save his country from ruin is clearly shown in *Syaṅ Disāprāmuk*'s peace mission to *Taytu*—the Mongol capital, in A.D.1285. When the king's interests clashed with those of the monks he usually gave in and this shows that the monks were quite important. In the light of the above evidence we can see very clearly that the administration in medieval Burma was a well organized one.

CHAPTER IV

SĀSANĀ

THE Burmese word *Sāsanā* is clearly the Pali *Sāsana*, which means the doctrine of the Buddha i.e. the Religion. *Sāsanā* in Burmese also means the year of the Religion as reckoned from the death of the Buddha which is 544 B.C.[1] according to Burmese sources. The *Sāsanavaṁsa—the History of the Buddha's Religion*[2]—by *Paññasāmi* written in A.D.1861 traces the expansion of Buddhism to Burma. According to this history the *Rāmañña* country (Lower Burma) was the first to receive the Religion. Then in A.B. 235, the *Soṇa* and *Uttara* mission came to a place in the *Rāmañña* country known as *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* which is partly on the edge of Mt. *Kelāsa* in Thaton district. But these are only traditions[3] and Asoka's Rock Edicts[4] giving the list of the countries to which missions were sent do not mention the *Soṇa* and *Uttara* mission to *Suvāṇṇābhūmi*. Nevertheless tradition maintains that henceforth Thaton was the centre from which the Religion spread upcountry.[5]

The conquest of Thaton in 1057 by *Aniruddha* resulted, it is said, in the introduction of pure *Theravāda* Buddhism into Upper Burma. But unfortunately there is no known contemporary evidence in support of this famous episode. All the information we have about this event is from various chronicles which are far from reliable for the period under consideration. This is what Professor G.H. Luce said on the subject.

> Already these accounts cancel themselves out : Aniruddha goes seeking the Tipiṭaka now at Thaton now at the Khmer capital Angkor. He receives an insolent refusal now at Thaton, now at Angkor. Kyanzittha the general in one case, Aniruddha the king in the other, performs feats of gymnastics 'piercing the Cambojans' (*krwam:thui:*): the scene is now Pegu, now Angkor. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each cows his rival with the spectre of streaks of betel-blood: but in one case it is the Khmer monarch, in the other that of Nanchao. Hero, scene and villain are alike lost in folktale and history sub-merged in the myth.[6]

Nevertheless, the find spot of the seals of *Aniruddha*, which we have discussed in a previous chapter certainly suggests that *Aniruddha* with his capital at Pagan expanded north and south and that Thaton was included in this general advance. There is much doubt that

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1. 483 B.C. according to modern scholars. See E. J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 27, n.1
2. *Paññasāmi: Sāsanāvaṁsa*, pp. 37–9; B. C. Law: *The History of the Buddhia's Religion*, pp. 40-4
3. Sinhalese chronicles also mention this tradition; W. Geiger: *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 44, p. 86 and H. Oldenberg: *Dīpavaṁsa* (1879) VIII, 1–13, pp. 53-4 and translation pp.159–60. W. Geiger in his introduction to *Mahāvaṁsa* considers that these Sinhalese chronicles are quite trustworthy.
4. Asoka's Rock Edicts Nos. 5 and 13. See V. Smith: *Asoka* (1909) pp. 161-3 and 172–5. See also Dr R. Bhandadar: *Asoka*, pp. 284–5 and 300–04.
5. *Hmannan* para. 131; *GPC*, p. 74
6. G.H. Luce: "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", *JBRS*, XXXVI, i, p.9

Thaton was the home of pure Theravāda Buddhism and that it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest.[1]

It is more than possible that Buddhism has been known to the early Burmans even before the 11th century. They may have been influenced in their civilization and religion by the Pyu because as late as A.D.1112-13 a Pagan prince called *Rājakumār*, the beloved son of *Thiluin Man* (1084-1113) used Pyu as one of the four languages to record a dedication that he made on behalf of his dying father.[2] Their first capital *Śrīkṣetra*, four miles to the east of Prome, was probably built in A.D.638 and it seems that they moved to Halingyi near Shwebo in about the middle of the 8th century when the Karens came.[3] The Pyu kingdom was ultimately destroyed in A.D.832.[4]

Many interesting articles have been unearthed by the excavations at Hmawza. The most important find was made in 1926 when twenty gold-leaf Pali manuscripts were uncovered.[5] Altogether these leaves contain eight extracts from the Pali *piṭaka* texts. The first extract is on *Nidāna* or *Paticca Samuppādā*[6]; the second enumerates the seven kinds of *Vipassanā ñāṇa*[7] (contemplative knowledge); the third gives the thirtyseven *Bodhipakkhiya dhamma*[8] (elements of enlightenment); the fourth classifies the four perfections of the Buddha;[9] the fifth enumerates again the fourteen kinds of knowledge possessed by the Buddha,[10] the sixth is a verse from the *Dhammapada*[11] telling the best of things in this world; the seventh describes the journey to *Rājagaha* by the Buddha and his disciples[12]; and the eighth is in praise of the Buddha.[13] The gold-leaf manuscripts[14] together with some similar ones found in the same vicinity[15] strongly suggest that Pali Buddhism was known to the Pyu and that their knowledge of it was by no means slight.[16] One might even

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1. See *Hmannan*, paras. 131-2; *GPC*, pp. 73-7. In a supposed conversation between Arahan and *Aniruddha* in their first interview, the king spoke as if he was utterly ignorant of Buddhism. Thus The Chroniclers advance the view that Pagan knew nothing of Buddhism untill the Lord Arahan appeared there just before the 1057 conquest.
2. See the *Rajakumār* inscription (Pl.363ab), popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, *Ep. Birm.* I, i.
3. *JBRS*, XLII, i, 11
4. *JBRS*, XLII, i, 79
5. *ASI*, 1926-7, p.200 & Plate XLII, g. *ASB*, 1938-9, pp.12-22 & Plates IVc, Vab, and VIab.
6. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 261, 263-4; III, pp.63-4. *Saṁyutta Nikāya* II, pp. 63-4; III, p.135; V, p. 388. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, p. 184. *Vinaya Piṭaka* I, pp.1-2. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, p. 229. *Vibhaṅga* pp.135, 138-9, 165-8.
7. *Visuddhi Magga* II, p. 639. (It gives eight kinds: our text omits the *patisaṅkhānupassanañāṇa*.) *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*. (It gives ten kinds: our text omits the *sammasanañāṇa*, *patisankhāñāṇa* and *anulomañāṇa*.)
8. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 102; *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 245: *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 125-6; *Udāna*, 56
9. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 71-2; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 8-9
10. *Khuddaka Nikāya*, I, 133
11. *Dhammapada* (Verse 273) (P.T. 1914) p.40
12. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, (*Mahāvagga*, I), 38; *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, I, 84
13. *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*)
14. *ASB*, 1938-9, pp.17-22. Edited and translated by U Lu Pe Win
15. Maunggan gold plates discovered in 1897 (*Ep. Ind.* V, pp.101-02; M.Louis Finot: "Un nouveau document sur le Bouddhisme Birman", *JA*, XX, 1912, pp. 121-36); Bawbawgyi stone inscriptions discovered in 1910-11 (*ASB*, 1924, pp.21-6); Kyundawzu gold plate discovered in 1928-9 (*ASI*, 1929-9, pp.108-09).
16. "Pali as the language of Theravāda Buddhism is known and understood, and Pali canonical texts, at least the more important of them, are studied in their doctrinal and metaphysical and most abstruse aspects (c.A.D.450-500). Early Buddhalogy also seems to have been more or less a familiar subject, at least in the Old Pyu capital i.e. old Prome. This point is beyond doubt." N.Ray: *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, p.84.

assume that the Pali Buddhism thriving in *Śrīkṣetra* spread and reached the Burmans at Pagan. It is possible that the Pyu after the destruction of their capital mixed freely with the Burmans and were quickly absorbed by the more virile race.[1] There are three inscriptions in the Pyu script at the Pagan Museum, viz. No.96 (Pl.357a, from Halingyi antedating Pagan),[2] No. 10 (Pl. 363a, the *Rājakumār* inscription dated A.D. 1113) and No. 3. (Pl. 555). The last one has two faces, one in Chinese. It probably belongs to the period between 1287 and 1298.[3] The scarcity of Pyu inscriptions during the whole of the Pagan period is best explained in this way. Though both the Pyu and Mon civilized the Burmans the Mon influence predominated probably because of their proximity—there being some colonies of Mon in the Kyaukse area. During the second decade of the 12th century a reaction against the Mon influence set in. The inscriptions of the transition period (1113–74) show the Burmans using Mon, Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu and Burmese languages[4] simply because the art of writing in Burmese was still in its infancy. Ultimately the Burmese language triumphed over its rivals.

We have seen from the gold leaf manuscripts found at Hmawza that the Pyu knowledge of Buddhism was not slight. Even if the Mon had outrivalled the Pyu element the latter probably was still a strong one as is shown by a Pyu face in the *Rājakumār* inscription. Therefore, until the contrary is proved it is possible to say that the Burmese derived some sort of Pali Buddhism from the Pyu prior to the said conquest of Thaton.

The Mon were living side by side with the Burmans in the Kyaukse area even before *Aniruddha*, and this certainly proves that the Mon civilization was not new to them when they expanded south and conquered the 'Monland'. Professor G.H. Luce thinks that the Mon were in the Kyaukse area even before the arrival of the Burmans[5] and that the infilitration of the Burmans into that area drove them south though some remnants survived in the northwestern corner of it. The Burmese inscriptions between 1211 and 1262 made three references to the 'main village of the Talaings' (*Taluiṅ rwā ma*).[6] Probably they refer to these Mon remnants and their place is located at *Khamlhā* or *Khapu* near the junction of the Samon and the Myitnge.[7] An old Mon inscription[8] 'which still stands on the north-west side'[9] of the Kyaukse Hill is quoted below to show that these Mon were Buddhists.

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1. We have mention of Pyu in the inscriptions until as late as 1510 (List 1050[70]).

2. See *ASB*, 1915, p.21.

3. "...Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date; but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287-98, when, following the capture of Pagan by Asăn-tămŭr, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism". *JBRS*, XLII, i, 55

4. The Shwezigon inscription (*Ep.Birm.*, III, pp.68-70) is in Mon, the Shwegugyi (Pl. 1 and 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit and the *Rājakumār* inscription (*Ep.Birm.*, I, i) is in Pali, Burmese, Mon and Pyu.

5. *JBRS*, XXXVI, i,3

6. Pl.38b[8], Pl. 205[12–17] and Pl. 212[4]

7. See Map 2.

8. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 70-3

9. *JBRS*, XXXVI, i,3

> I, the Chief Monk...loṅ, when I came to dwell at Klok-Sa[1], I informed the Chief Monk of Bukām, I informed the king there, that I was building a *baddhasīma*. These (are the persons) who together with myself worked (for this temple?): the junior monk Mahādew, his father, his mother, his (grandfather?) (...?) the mother of Ṅa Lwoy, Ya Wāṅ, son of Ṅa Mrik, Ṅa Gan Dā: these I dedicate to the temple, who worked together with myself. The great (donation?) of (measures of?) arable land, which the *kon samben daliṅ* gave to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?)..............(conduct ?) for (all beings ?)..

This presence of a Mon *mahāthera* in Kyaukse district and his building of a permanent ordination hall together with the fact that he informed a *mahāthera* resident at Pagan of his meritorious deed clearly shows that the Burmans had close contact with the Mon in religious affairs. Unfortunately the inscription bears no date. Anyhow if we accept the theory that the Burmans took the Kyaukse area from the Mon and that "the victors sat at the feet of vanquished"[2], we could easily go a step further and say that the Burmese got some form of Buddhism from the Mon remnants even before the 11th century.

It is important to discover what sort of religion the Burmans practised in the early part of the Pagan dynasty which has been labelled the Mon period (1057-1113) as most of the inscriptions attributed to this era are in the Mon language. In the Great Shwezigon inscription[3] of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* (1084-1113) we have the culogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B.1630 (A.D.1086)[4]. According to it the principal religion then practised was Buddhism. But there are references to other religions as well. *Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* (i.e. *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*) the Buddhist King is considered as a reincarnation of Vishnu[5]. Evidently there is a good deal of Brahmanism in the Buddhism that they practised. This, in spite of the fact that the king had a spiritual adviser who helped him rule righteously and purify the religion.

> A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall make......, shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha,' thus shall King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja say.[6]

1. This *Klok-Sa* is identified as the two villages of *Klok* and *Sayoṅ* (Pl.34[12], Pl.48[9], Pl.49[7], Pl.232[7], Pl.272[57]) which were later combined to form Kyaukse. See *JBRS*, XLII, i,64.
2. *JBRS*, XXXVI, i, 3
3. *Ep.Birm*, I, ii, pp.90-130
4. This is supposed to be the coronation year of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* who ascended the throne in 1084. *Ep.Birm*, I, ii, p.113
5. *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, A[46], 114
6. *Ibid*. p.117

The inscription goes on to say that Buddhism prospers well in the realm.

> The city of Arimaddanapūr, which is the dwelling place of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall glow (and) glitter with the Precious Gems. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja shall pray desiring omniscience.
>
> All those who dwell in the city of Arimaddhanapūr, together with King Śri Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja, shall delight worthily in the Precious Gems, shall worship, revere, (and) put their trust in the Lord Buddha, the Good Law and all the lords of the Church.[1]

It is surprising to note that orthodoxy went side by side with religious toleration.

> In the realm of my lord all those who were heretical shall become orthodox entirely. All the monks shall be full of virtue and good conduct. All the Brahmans, who know the Vedas, they shall fulfil all the Brahman law.[2]

We have further evidence of the King's religious fervour in another inscription.[3] It said that he built a pagoda called *Jayabhūmi* (Shwezigon) to the northeast of Pagan, collected and purified the three holy *Piṭaka* which had become obscure, sent men, money and material to effect repairs at the holy temple of *Sri Bajrās* (Bodh Gayā), offered the four necessities (i.e. shelter, robes, food and medicine) to the monks frequently and converted a ?Shan (Colī) prince to Buddhism. In spite of his religious fervour his palace inscription[4] dated A.D. 1101-02 proves beyond a doubt that the Buddhism practised at the court of Pagan was far from pure. This inscription shows "a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the mahāthera Arahan".[5] The whole affair was left in the hands of "the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building"[6] except when the Buddhist monks were invited to bless the site by reciting the *paritta*—a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Brahmans and the conch which is supposed to be the symbol of Vishnu was used to hold the water. The following extract shows this clearly.

> At sunset, *godhulī* (being) *lagna*, the *saṅkrān* Brahmans, who carried litters, beat the foremost drum. The Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water for the reciting of the *paritta*. Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in) vessels of gold, vessels of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where?) the blessing (was to be given?): at the great pavilion and the four *cīndrow* pavilions and the ablution pavilion

1. *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, 121
2. *Ibid.* p.127
3. The Shwesandaw (3) inscription, *Ibid.*, pp.153–68
4. *Ep.Birm.*, III, i, 1–68. This inscription was broken into many pieces and Dr C.O. Blagden has arranged the eighteen fragments in order naming them consecutively from ABC up to S. Professor G.H.Luce disagrees with this order. According to him it should be NRSOPQ, BCDA, EFGH and JKLM.
5. *JBRS*, XLII, i, 62
6. *Ep.Birm.*, III, i, p.64. 0[6]

> and the *juṅ dal* pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church who were to recite the *paritta* outside and throughout the palace (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders in reciting the *paritta* outside, together with the four thousand monks,......the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats, eight (figured?) cloths (and) eight spades, water (in) a hundred and eight vessels and a hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the *paritta* within, at the dwelling places of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats, a hundred and eight (figured?) cloths (and) a hundred and eight spades.[1]

The inscription goes on to say how the conch came into use in a Buddhist rite. It also mentions that the monks were standing during *saraṇasīla* and *paritta* which would be considered unusual now-a-days in Burma.[2]

> At that time our lord the Chief Monk Arahan stood at the western side facing towards the eastern side (and) holding a right-voluted conch shell, together with water (in) vessels of gold, silver, copper (and) earthenware, which they arranged in front of our lord the Chief Monk Arahan.
>
> Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the *saraṇasīla* and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks remained standing within (and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the *paritta* blessing.[3]

A special place was alloted in the new palace as a prayer hall and next to the image of Buddha was placed the image of *Gavampati*.

> Towards the east side of the front of the great hall, (they) made a sanctuary, furnished with seats, which (they) made fittingly, which (they) decorated (round about?) with white cloth (and which they shaded?) with white umbrellas. Then (they) spread .... rugs on the top of the seats. Then (they) set (thereon) a golden statue of Buddha, a statue of the Lord Gawampati, with books of the Vinaya, Sutta (and) Abhidhamma ......
>
> At three *pahir* (they) sounded the drums .... (and) blew..... (in honour of ?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gawampati and all the four

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1. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 36-7, IX, A^{12-28}

2. Perhaps as Dr C.O. Blagden suggests (*Ep. Birm.* III, i, p. 38, ns. 8 and 10) the Old Mon word *täw* does not mean exactly "to stand." It might simply mean "stayed, remained". Mr. H.L. Shorto prefers the second form. Then, it would mean that the monks stayed at a specified place marked for them, very probably sitting cross-legged and recited the *paritta*.

3. *Ep. Birm.*. III, i, p. 38, A^{40-6}

> thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader.[1]

Although the presence of 1408 monks including *Mahāthera* Arahan is mentioned in the inscription one gets the impression that the Brahmans were the more important. In all the eighteen known fragments of the inscription the mention of the Brahmans occurs forty nine times[2]—they are found leading at every step of the construction.. Therefore it is natural to conclude that the worship of Vishnu[3] (*Nār* in the inscription, is the Mon word for *Nārāyaṇa*) preceeds all important ceremonies. Offerings were also made to Indra.[4] Another important thing of note is that the Brahmans also performed the Nāga worship.

> To the Nāgas (they) made a decoration of plantains (for ?) a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness?) golden flowers (and) altar oblations. ... Then the Brahman astrologers versed in house-building offered water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas.[5]

For other evidences of Brahmanical influence it is best to quote Professor G.H. Luce.

> In the Nanpaya of the captured Mon King (Makuṭa), the chief sculptures left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzittha's palace, stands to this day a temple of Visṇu, the Nathlaungkyaung. Shiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnava; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton.[6]

Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanical influence. A village named *Lintuiṅ* (*Liṅga*) mentioned in an inscription[7] dated A.D.1235 suggests the presence of phallic worship at one time. Another village called *Kulā Nat*[8] in an inscription of A.D.1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God *Mahāpinnai* (*Mahā Vināyaka*) i.e. *Gaṇeśa* is mentioned in an inscription[9], dated A.D.1279.

As regards *Gāvampati*, Dr C.O. Blagden describes him as 'the patron saint of the Mons' and 'the patron saint of Pagan'.[10] In the Tainggyut inscription[11] (A.D. 1279) *Gavampati* is mentioned together with the Buddha and his two chief disciples. Regarding this Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

> It is interesting to note that here the Buddha is attended not only by his

1. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 37–8. A[28-35]
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–68. (O[6], P[8], Q[8], B[7,10,15,19], C[3,10,12,18,20,33,40], D[4,10,23,25,38], A[13], E[10,26,30,32], F[10,11,29,31], G[3,5,11,17], H[6,12,14,16,23,31,36,37,43], J[2,9,14,17,19], K[9,16], L[1,19], M[3,15])
3. *Ibid.*, P[8], B[37], C[35], F[30], G[3], H[10], J[14]
4. *Ibid.*, D[29]
5. *Ibid.*, H[10] and H[15]
6. *JBRS*, XLII, i, 63 See also N.Ray: *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, pp.5, 8–9, 23, and 34.
7. Pl.128a[10]. This inscription is from Hsingut village, Shwebo.
8. Pl.388a[10]
9. Pl.262[4'6]
10. *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, p.87. See also *ASB*, 1913, p.23
11. Pl. 6

two chief disciples but also by Gawampati, the patron of the Mons.[1]

The Great Shwezigon inscription[2] mentions *Gavampati* as the son (i.e. disciple) of Buddha. In this matter Dr N.Ray says:

> Gavampati, who is represented in Mon records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the patron saint of the Mons as well as the patron saint of Pagan.[3]

But Professor G.H. Luce seems to be a little reluctant to regard this deity as 'the patron saint of the Mons'. He says:

> Gāvampati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as 'my son' by the Buddha; his statue is placed besides that of the Buddha; Anorathā is said to have carved an image of him (List 23;27.) but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivaite deity, the 'Lord of Oxen', and perhaps a god of drought and wind.[4]

He appears to have decided that Gavampati was a pre-Buddhist Shaivaite deity. The trouble, however, is that there are many *Gavampati* : the cow-lord, the lord of the rays, the sun, the name of Agni, the name of a snake demon and lastly but not the least the name of a Buddhist mendicant.[5] *Gavampati Thera*[6] was one of the well-known disciples of the Lord Buddha and therefore one wonders whether the *Gavampati* of the Pagan inscriptions was the *Gavampati Thera* or *Gavampati*—the Shaivaite deity. The fact that the Buddha addressed *Gavampati* as 'my son'[7] and that his statue is placed among the Buddhist canonical works in one case[8] and in another[9] together with the statues of *Sāriputtrā* and *Moggallāna*, suggests that the inscriptions were referring to *Gāvampati Thera*. Be that as it may we are safe in saying that the Buddhism which the Burmans received from the Mon was far from pure even though the chronicles claim otherwise.

After the death of *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* (1084–1113) Mon influence gradually waned and so our inscriptions are largely in Burmese (with the exception of a few which are in Pali or Pali mixed up with Burmese.)

Ratanā sumṁ pā: is the Burmese phrase for Three Gems, i.e. *Purhā*—the Lord, *Tryā*—the Law, and *Saṅghā*—the Order. They were as important to the medieval Burman as they

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1. *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p.56
2. *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, A52, 114
3. N.Ray: *Brahmanical Gods of Burma*, p.17
4. *JBRS*, XLII, i, 62. See also Przyluski: *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp.239-56.
5. Monier-Williams: *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p.351
6. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pāḷi Proper Names*, I, pp.756-8. The *Sāsanavaṁsa* (p.36ff. of the Text, and p.41ff. of the Translation by B.C.Law) speaks of a thera by this name, at whose request the Buddha went to *Suddhammapura* in the Rāmañña country to establish his Religion.
7. *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, p.114
8. *Ep..Birm*, III, i, pp.37–8
9. Pl.66

are to-day. *Sāsanā*—the Religion, was equally important to him and he considered himself always responsible for its maintenance. He dedicated lands, slaves, cattle, precious metals, food and various other articles of daily use from a costly robe to a spittoon, as a means of support to them (*rattanā 3 pā sa tui e' paccañ phlac cim so ṅhā.*)[1] It was then, as it is at present the popular belief that the Religion of the Lord shall last for 5000 years (*sāsanā anhac 5000 mlok oṅ tañ rac cim, so ṅhā*).[2] As there is no canonical work which supports the theory that the Religion shall last only 5000 years, the late Ādiccavaṁsa suggested that

> the Religion shall stand for five thousand, six thousand, seven thousand (years) or even more without any limit.

But he put a saving clause by saying that as long as there are believers there is the Religion. Though his suggestion is extremely sound he nevertheless suffered *pakāsaniyakamma* (excommunication) in 1935 for making remarks which upset popular beliefs.[3] Thus the old Burman just as his modern counterpart dogmatically believed that the Religion would last for only 5000 years and that it was his duty to support it. To fulfil these duties meant working for ones own salvation. The Religion taught him that nothing was permanent in this world and that wealth accumulated in this life cannot buy longivity and when he dies he leaves everything behind. The only thing that would help him in his journey through *Saṁsāra* was to spend his wealth in charity and thereby accumulate merit. The following excerpt illustrates this very well.

> *//Sakarac 653 khu Naṁyun l-chan 11 ryak 5 niy Acaw Racasū ceti tañ so Skhiṅ Racasū mi nhaluṁ thit lan lat rakā. / ṅa e' mi pha phiy phuiw tuiw le amuy utcā tuiw kuiw cwan kha ruy swā kha kun e' / khyat cwā so ṅā sā lha le amuy uccā nhaṅ akwa ṅā mi raṅ kuiw cwan kha prī kā / ṅā le sū ma yū nuiṅ ruy thā kha so amuy uccā kuiw ṅā le thuiw suiw lañkoṅ ma pā tat so akroṅ kuiw si rakā / ṅā mi ṅā pha ṅā sā amlyuiw khapsim kuiw niyrapan e' paccañ athok apaṅ phlac cim so ṅhā lhū tuṁ so*[4]

> On 9 May 1291, the founder of *Acaw Racasū* pagoda—the mother of Lord *Racasū* was startled at heart and she said: "My parents, my grand parents and my great grand parents have all gone, abandoning their inherited property. Now my beloved and handsome son has gone likewise abandoning his inherited property and myself—his own mother. Knowing that I too cannot take away with me (this) inherited property which they have left behind because they could not take it, I dedicate it so that it may be one of the attributes for my mother, my father, my son and all my relatives attaining nirvana".

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1. Pl.24^{15}
2. Pl.73^{20}, Pl.90^{14}, Pl.157^{7}, Pl.205^{5}, Pl.228b^{2}, etc.
3. See *Ādiccavaṁsa*: *Bhikkhunīsāsanopadesa*, pp.19 and 56 and also *Bhikkhunī Are: Puṁ.* Taw Sein Ko also observed that 'it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity.' *Burmese Sketches* I (1913) pp.60–1
4. Pl.272$^{5\ 1-6}$. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, 54 and XXVI, iii, 137.

Thus giving away one's own property in charity without limit or possibility of an equal return (*asadisadāna*)[1] if possible was believed as one of the means of acquiring merit which is an attribute towards the final attainment of *nirvana*. After every act of merit the donor would pray, for instance,

> *//iy ṅā koṅmhū mū so klañcū phlaṅ, kāḥ Mittyā purhāḥ skhiṅ purhāḥ phlac sū rhāw āḥ arahantā chu ra luiw sū te//*2
>
> For the benefit of this act of merit I made, may I get the boon of arahantship when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha.

This is the typical prayer one finds in the inscriptions of our period. Donors wanted the boon of *nirvana* in the form of a mere *araha* when *Bodhisattva Maitreya* becomes the Buddha. But there were also exceptions to this rule—the most ambitious asked for the boon of Buddhahood. We will consider such exceptions in detail later.

We may safely assume that the *Sāsanā* had a great influence over the Burmans of our period. What the *Sāsanā* taught them, how they interpreted it and how it influenced in their daily life is best illustrated in the following inscription dated AD 1266.

> ...*Mathi Luiw mliy // maṅ miyā Siṅghasū sami // phlac sa chuiw ṅray uiw maṅ sa chuiw ṅray siy so chuiw ṅray ma khyat sa sū nhaṅ akwa niy sa chuiw ṅray khyat sa sū nhaṅ kwiy kaṅ sa chuiw ṅray luiw ruy ma ra sa chuiw ṅray // iy suiw ka ca so atuiṅ ma sī sa chuiw ṅray tuiw sañ nhip cak so khandhā kuiw cwan thā kha ruy chuiw ṅray khapsim kaṅ so khyamsā cwā so mlat so niyraban kuiw lhyaṅ ṅā luiw sate hū ruy khyat cwā so mlat so rhuy ṅuy ka ca so utcā tuiw kuiw cwan ruy plu so kloṅ twaṅ niy so sataṅ samādhi prañā hū so klañ-jū suṁ pā kuiw rhā so sataṅ caṅ so purhā tape, sā rahan saṅghā khyamsā cim so ṅhā lay uyan kywan khapaṅ akrwaṅ may lhyaṅ lhu e, // iy ṅā tuiw plu so koṅmhu akluiw // atuiw khapsim so kuiw acuiw ra so riy mliy askhiṅ phlac so maṅkrī le ra ciy e, // iy koṅmhu ānubhaw phlaṅ prañ tuiṅ kā khapsim so nhuik niy so lū khapsim so e, acī aphwā khyamsā kuiw rhā piy lyak sak tauw rhañ cwā niy ruy iy koṅmhu kuiw thok paṅ ciy sate // amipurhā ca so moṅma tauw khapsim le ra ciy e, // akhyaṅ khyaṅ amyak a-ī ta ciy ma hiy khyat sa myak ciy phlaṅ rhu kra ra ciy e, // yakhu hi so noṅ phlac lat aṁ so maṅkrī maṅsā amattyā ca so sū khapsim le ra ciy sate ariy araṁ yū pā ciy sate // Yama maṅ ca so sattawā khapsim le ra ciy sate // ara ami kuiw luiw so sū kā ara ami ra ciy e, // koṅmhu kuiw mū lui so sū kā koṅmhu kuiw mū ra ciy e, // ṅā le raṁmak krī sa ma roṅ ray tat so // amyak krī so sū tac thū kuiw ñhan chay tat so prañā ma hiy so muik so wantuiw so apiy akaṁ ma hiy so // saccā ma hiy so plak tat so // miy lyaw so o miy ta sa kaṅ so ma phlac mū ruy raṁmak nañ so roṅ ray lway so // amyak nañ so sanā tat so prañā hiy so akroṅ kuiw si tat so wan ma tuiw so apiy akaṁ hiy so saccā hiy so ma plak tat so ma miy lyaw so ok miy ta sa hiy so iy suiw so klañ-jū tuiw nhaṅ plañ-juṁ lyak saṅsarā nhuik kyaṅ lañ ruy Mittaryā purhā myakmhok kaṅkā lhyaṅ // 0 // mlat sa aklwat taryā ra luiw sate // 0 //* 3

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1. Pl.275 12
2. Pl.231 0. See also Pl.246 13, Pl.253b20, etc.
3. Pl. 216 1–15

I, the grand daughter of *Mathi Luiw*, the daughter of *Singhasū* (one of King *Klacwā*'s sons) and the queen of King (*Tarukpliy*), wish to abandon (this) body oppressed by countless miseries—the misery of birth, old age and death, the misery of living with those one does not love and of separation from those one love, the misery of wanting a thing and not getting it. I want the bliss of *Nirvana* which is the end of all miseries. For the fulfilment of this desire I relinquish gold, silver and other treasures which are dear and precious to me and build a monastery for the monks—the pupils of the Lord, pure in piety and ever seeking the three graces of self-restraint, self-possession and wisdom. In order that these monks be well provided, I offer (all my) fields, gardens and slaves, excepting none. May the merit of our meritorious deed go (first) to the king, ruler of us all and lord of the land and water. By virtue of this act of merit may he live long, seeking the prosperity and happiness of all those who live in the realm and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies-in-waiting share it. May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speak of anger or cloying. Starting with the present reigning king, the future kings, the princes, the ministers, may all of them also share the merit. May they uphold this foundation. May all beings beginning with King *Yama* also share it. May those who desire worldly prosperity get it. May those who prefer to do good deeds, do them. For myself I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, stupid, mean, uncharitable, faithless, frivolous, forgetful, nor ungrateful. But I would cross *Samsāra* full of these good graces—modest in my wants, easily satisfied, mild of temper, pitiful, wise, conscious of causes, generous, large-handed, faithful, earnest, unforgetful and considerate; and may I win deliverance in the very presence of the Lord *Maitreya*.

Whether they derived the *Sāsanā* from either the Mon or the Pyu or from both, the old Burmans knew well that India was the birth place of the Religion that they had adopted. King *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* (1084-1113) sent men, money and material to repair the holy temple at Bodh Gaya.[1] Probably, the pilgrims from Burma frequented the places in India associated with the life of Buddha. The text and translation of an inscription dated A.D.1298 will illustrate how much Burmans appreciated India as the home of the Buddha and his Religion.

// // purhā skhiṅ sāsanā 218 lwan liy prī so akhā nhuik Camputip klwan kuiw acuiw si ra so Siridhammasoka maṅ so maṅkrī cetī hyat soṅ 4 thoṅ athai nhuik chwaṁ tau phun phiy rā pāyāsa ī than kuw akhā liy mlaṅ pyak ruy plaṅ so Skhiṅ Paṅsakū krī ta yok thuiw priy to khyak pyak khay ra kā Satuiw maṅ plu e' thuiw pri ta khyak pyak khay tuṁ rakā Chaṅ Phlu Skhiṅ tryā maṅkri mimi kuiw cā chiryā Siridhammarājākuru kuiw ciy tau mu lat so akhā nhuik pā lat so tape, sā Siri Kassapa saṅ lup aṁ so uccā hi lyak mā lup rā tat rakā Wanawāsi Skhiṅ thera kuiw chwaṁ khaṁ ciy rakā Putasin maṅ hu e' lup ciy (m)u Skhiṅ Ṅai kuiw mlat krī the kuiw akhwaṅ mu rakā Sakarac 657 khu Plasuiw l-chan 10 ryak 6 niy plu tuṁ e' Sakarac 660 Tanchoṅmhun l-chan 8 ryak Taṇhaṅkanū ni lhū ce so taṁkhwan kukā taṁkhwan myāt tuiw kuiw le pucaw e' saṅput thoṅ chimi thoṅ tuiw akrin myā cwā lhyaṅ pucaw e' sā sami hu mhat ruy suṅai 2 yok rhuy pan ṅuy pan khwak puchuiw

1. The Shwesandaw (3) inscription. *Ep.Birm.*, I,ii,pp.153-68

chway so patañsā le pucaw e' akhā khapsim lhyañ sañput wat ma prat tañ cim sö kroñ 'mliy kywan nwā tuiw kuiw le way ruy lhu khay i ñā mu so koñmhu kā nippan paccañ athok apañ phlac khyāñ sate ||| Myattañ purhā skhiñ lak thak lhyañ rahanta chu luiw sate[1]

After the lapse of 218 years of the Religion (i.e. in 326 B.C.) the great king named *Siridhammasoka* (Asoka), who was the ruler of *Jambudipa* island (built) 84000 *ceti* among which one was on the spot where Buddha ate [the milk rice? given him by *Sujātā* immediately before his enlightenment]. Due to the march of time, it became dilapidated. One Lord *Paṁsukūlika* the Great repaired it. When it again became ruineous king *Satuiw* made (repairs). When again it was dilapidated, the great just king *Chañ Phlu Skhiñ* sent his teacher *Siridhammarājākuru* (to effect repairs) on his behalf. Because *Siri Kassapa* the disciple who accompanied (*Siridhammarājakuru*), though he had the treasures (or funds) would not do it, *Wanawāsī Thera* had to beg alms (?seek permission from) King *Putasin* (who) said "(You may) do it" to the reverend *thera* through Lord *Ñai*. On Friday, 16 December 1295 (they) did it (i.e. started repairs) On Sunday, 13 October 1298 (?when the repairs were accomplished) many flags and streamers were offered for dedication. One thousand alsmfood, (and) one thousand oil lamps were offered several times. Two children treated as (one's) own off-spring, a wish-tree for hanging gold flowers, silver flowers, trays and loin cloths were also offered. That there may be almsfood at all times, land, slaves and cows were bought and dedicated. May this meritorious deed be an attribute for attaining Nirvana in the form of an arahant when Maitreya becomes the Buddha.

From what we have seen it is evident that the old Burmans were conversant with Buddhism even before *Aniruddha*'s conquest of Lower Burma. The Pyu of *Śrīkṣetra* or the Mon of Kyaukse or both may have been their teachers. Whatever the chroniclers may have said the Buddhism introduced from Lower Burma was by no means pure. Buddhism practised in Pagan was a mixture of Naga worship, Vaisnava Hinduism and Buddhism. The people not only believed deeply in the Religion but practised it according to their own lights. They believed then, as at present that the Religion shall last for five millenium and that they were to support it to their utmost capacity, hence a great deal of dedications to the Religion. Allied with this belief was one which said that the gaining of merit by giving charity was the sure road to Nirvana. In conclusion they knew that India was the birthplace of Buddha and the Religion and therefore those who could afford to, made religious establishments there or repaired dilapidated ones.

1. Pl.299. See also Taw Sein Ko: *Burmese Sketches* I (1913) pp.90–3

CHAPTER V

PURHĀ

The word *purhā* means the Buddha himself or a pagoda where relics are enshrined. But a king is also addressed as *purhā* and his queen called by that name with a *mi* or *ami* prefix denoting female as *mi-purhā* and *ami-purhā*. Thus it became a title for all exalted persons. But to differentiate between the ecclesiastical and temporal lords, some scribes of old Pagan added descriptic phrases to *purhā*, e.g. *mlat cwā so purhā*[1]—the most exalted *purhā*—when they wanted to signify the Buddha and *purhā rhaṅ*[2]—the *purhā* who is living—to denote the then reigning king. The king is also mentioned as *purhāloṅ*[3]—the Bodhisattva.

Dr C. O. Blagden thought that the word *purhā* was connected with *vara*. He says:

> *Purhā*, now written (*bhurā:*) but pronounced (phaya) and sometimes still (phra). This is the well-known Burmese expression applied to exalted personages; the Buddha is so called; the king was addressed with this word during the Burmese regime; the monks are still so styled when spoken to; nowadays, it is even used as epithet when addressing Government officials of a certain standing. The temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha are also called (phaya). The form *purhā* as found in the present inscription, appears to be the oldest; it is found subsequently written *Purhā*, *bhurhā*, *phurhā*, *phurā*, and finally *bhurāh*. But this word is not, as might on the face of it be thought, Burmese in its origin; it is found, under very slightly different forms, all over Indo-China, and even in Java. Opinions still differ as to its derivation; some eminent authorities would derive it from *vara*, a Sanskrit and Pali word meaning "excellent noble, exalted"; this is the derivation generally accepted. Some years ago, Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Burmese Sketches*, I, 1913, p.30) suggested a derivation from the Chinese Fu-ya (now pronounced *Fo-yeh*). The form *Fo-ya* does not explain the *r* in the second syllable of the Burmese word; for there can be but little doubt, if at all, that this letter *r*, though now it is pronounced *y*, was sounded according to its original value in old Burmese, as a comparison with the languages most closely related to it—Tibetan, Lolo, Maru, etc.—abundantly shows; the full value of *r* is still retained in Arakanese, which is but Burmese of an archaic type. The form *vara* does not seem to explain the Burmese medial vowel *u* in *purhā*; but this vowel has been frequently developed in the first syllable of dissyllabic words when that syllable begins with a labial, but is now practically never pronounced; examples are numerous in Burmese. All evidence tends to show that the Sanskrit word *vara* is the original of this expression, found under several forms as *polai*, *phola*, *poula*, *purahā*, *phurā*, *pharā*, *phrā*, *phrayā*, *prah*, *praḥ*, *varaḥ*, etc. This seems to settled by the Phimanakas Inscription, where the old Khmer

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1. Pl.18[5], Pl.28a[1], Pl.28b[1], Pl.51[1], Pl.84[4], Pl.130[5], Pl.308[1], etc
2. Pl.113[2], Pl.115[13], Pl.141a[15], Pl.174[14], Pl.194[1]
3. Pl.36[5], Pl.90[2,5,6], Pl.115[3,5], Pl.133[28], Pl.143a[9,12,14,15,16], Pl.145[11,12], Pl.249[28], Pl.282[2]

text has *vrah*, Īçvara, the modern Cambodian being *prah* Eisor, and *vrah* Mahābodhi = *prah* Mahābodhi.[1]

If *vara* is the root word for all similar words used all over South East Asia, the Mon word is an exception to it. In Old Mon "kyek"[2] means any worshipful person or object as well as "a statue of Buddha."

As we have said in Old Burmese the word *purhā* means any worshipful person or object. The Lord Buddha was *mlat cwā so purhā*—the most exalted lord—the Buddha icons were *purhā chanpu*[3]—the form of the Lord, *purhā ryap*[4]—the standing Buddha, *purhā thaway*[5]—the sitting Buddha, *purhā tanthim*[6]—the recumbent Buddha, *purhā niyrapan*[7]—the dead Buddha, *ryapfuin purhā*[8]—images made to the donor's height, and *kuiw ryap tuin purhā*[9]—image made to the donor's measurements. Professor G.H. Luce wishes to connect *chanpu* or *achanpu* with the Pyu word *cha:bo* of the *Rājakumār* inscription where

//dhau bā: Būdha u cha: bo bradima tha tū bī se kya// [10]

is translated as "caused this golden image in the likeness of the Buddha to be made." The modern Burmese word for an icon is *chan:tu* which literally means an imitation of an appearance and we do not know why *pu* of *chanpu* is replaced by *tu* and becomes *chan:tu* to-day. In old Burmese the word *chanpu* is used for likeness made of stone or wood and also for paintings of Buddha that adorn the walls of hollow pagodas. As many as 14,619 pictures of the Buddha were painted within seventeen days (7 March to 24 March 1237)[11]. In another case 4000 pictures or *chanpu* of the Buddha were painted on the four walls of a hollow pagoda built by *Kangapikram* and his wife on 10 December 1253[12]. Naturally *Gotama* Buddha would be painted or sculptured, but sometimes other Buddhas—the predecessors of *Gotama*, were also included in the paintings or their images would be found among the image of *Gotama* enshrined in a pagoda. For example, an inscription[12] dated A.D.1274 mentions

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1. *Ep. Birm.* I,i, pp. 26-7 , See also *BEFEO*, XVIII, ix, pp.9–12; Auguste Pavie: *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine* 1879-1895, *Études Diverses II, Recherches sur l'Historie du Cambodge du Laos et du Siam* (Paris, 1898), p.228, n.2 and p.237, n.1; and Coedès: *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam I, Inscriptions de Sukhodaya* (Bangkok, 1924) pp.79-90
2. *Ep.Birm.* I,i,p.57. See also Halliday: *A Mon-English Dictionary*, p.64, when old Mon "kyek" appears as "kyait" (ကျိုက်) meaning "any object of worship, a god; also used in addressing a superior, lord."
3. Pl.73[15], Pl.80[15], Pl.192[12], Pl.234[6], Pl.238[8], Pl,248[17], Pl.249[22,25] and Pl.269[6]
4. Pl.66[21], Pl.97[16], Pl.104[8], Pl.130[5], Pl.132b[8], Pl.209[4], Pl.213[14], Pl.234[9], Pl.235b[5], Pl.385a[4] and Pl.393[21,25]
5. Pl.130[5], Pl.153[5], Pl.213[14], Pl.229[16], Pl.234[9] and Pl.422b[5]. Unless otherwise stated *purhā thaway*—sitting Buddha—is always a cross-legged Buddha because the Buddha "sitting Europeanwise" is very rare in Burma.
6. Pl.61[7] and Pl.132b[7]
7. Pl.270[7,13,14]
8. Pl.130[3,4], Pl.209[4], Pl.253a[6]
9. Pl.209[4], Pl.229[17], Pl.253a[6]
10. *Ep.Birm.* I, i, p.62; Text A[10], where *Cha*: is taken as likeness, having a close similarity to old Burmese *achan*
11. Pl.105a[6–8]
12. Pl.248[16–18]
13. Pl.249[21–3]

that images of *Kakusankha*, *Konāgamana*, *Kassapa*, *Gotama* and *Maitryea* were made. In a relic chamber of a pagoda near the Htilominlo at Pagan unearthed in 1928, was found an image of the Buddha *Vessabhu* with a two line Pali inscription (in the same script as the Old Burmese) round the pedestal. It reads:

> *Yo Vessabhū sarīdharo ca anantabuddhī sattuttamo dasa balo...dhammo kāyo lokekacakkhu asamo sugato anejo vandāmitaṁ saridharaṁ atulam munindaṁ...*[1]

> The (Buddha) *Vessabhū*, the Glorious, of Infinite Wisdom, the Greatest among beings...the One Spiritual Eye in the world, the Incomparable, the Blessed One, the Desireless; Him I rever, the Glorious, the Admirable, the Chief of Sages.

The painted Buddhas are more or less alike and usually the only way of differentiating the one from the other is by the different backgrounds in the form of Bodhi as each Buddha had his own particular Bodhi under which he attained enlightment. The name of the Buddha and his Bodhi would be written below the paiting.[2] Stories of the anterior births of *Gotama* Buddha known to the old Burmans sometimes as *jat ṅā ryā*[3]—500 birth stories, and sometimes as *jat 550*[4]—550 birth stories, are also popular themes for paiting on the walls of hollow-pagodas. Actually there are only 547 stories,[5] i.e. according to the Pāli texts which are still used in Burma and there are numerous Burmese translations of these stories. But as mentioned above, the old Burmans rounded up this figure 547 to 500 or 550 and even to-day, the Burmans refer to these stories as *ṅā rā,ṅā: chay*—five hundred and fifty. Strangely enough the *Jātaka* plaques at West Petleik pagoda, the construction of which goes back to the early part of the Pagan dynasty, give 550 stories. The additional three are (1) *Velāma jātaka*, (2) *Mahāgovinda jātaka* and (3) *Sumedhapaṇḍita jātaka*.[6] There are six other pagodas belonging to this period which have these *jātaka* plaques and wherever the number can be ascertained, the number is 547. The six pagodas are:

1. The East Petleik Pagoda (by *Aniruddha*)
2. The Shwesandaw Pagoda (by *Aniruddha*)
3. The Shwezigon Pagoda (by *Thīluiṅman*)
4. The Ananda Pagoda (by *Thīluiṅman*)
5. The Dhammayazika Pagoda (by *Cañsū* II)
6. The Mingalazedi (by *Tarukpliy*)

The Ananda Pagoda has nearly 1500 *jātaka* plaques[7] and the explanations to these are all in old Mon[8]. The plaques are in two categories. Firstly, each plaque is assigned to

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1 *ASI*, 1928-9, pp.110-11, Plate LII (d)
2 *JBRS*, XXX, i, pp. 314-21, n.67, where Professor G.H. Luce gives the full list of 28 Buddhas and their respective trees as found in the fresco-writings (in both old Mon and old Burmese) of some pagodas at Pagan. See Appendix II
3 Pl. 73[15]
4 Pl. 105 a[7]
5 Fausboll's edition of *The Jātakas* (7 vols) (Trubner & Co., London, 1877-97) has also 547 stories
6 Duroiselle: "Pictorial Representations of *Jātakas* in Burma"; *ASI*, 1912-13, pp.87-119
7 *Ibid.*, p.91, n.1
8 These 389 plaques are edited and published: *Ep.Birm.* II, i & ii

represent one *jātaka* and secondly, 389 plaques on the last ten anterior lives of *Gotama* Buddha[1]. These seem to be the most popular subjects for plaques or painting. At the Ananda Pagoda the order of arrangement for these ten stories varies slightly from the Sinhalese order[2] in the following manner.

Ananda	Sinhalese
1. *Mūgapakkha*	Ditto
2. *Mahājanaka*	Ditto
3. *Sāma*	Ditto
4. *Nimi*	Ditto
5. *Mahā-Ummagga*	*Khaṇḍahāla*
6. *Khaṇḍahāla*	*Bhūridatta*
7. *Bhūridatta*	*Mahānāradakassapa*
8. *Mahānāradakassapa*	*Vidhura*
9. *Vidhura*	*Mahā-Ummagga*
10. *Vessantara*	Ditto

But it agrees with the modern Burmese arrangement except that in the latter *Bhūridatta jātaka* comes before *Khaṇḍahāla jātaka*[3].

The Wetkyi-in Gubyaukgyi Pagoda, Pagan, has many of these tales painted on its walls[4]. C. Duroiselle says[5]:

> The interest attaching to this pagoda does not lie in any peculiarity of its architectural style, but in the fine frescoes painted on the interior walls depicting scenes from the jātakas... [In these pictures] the ground is chocolate; the hair is painted black; the dress of the personages, as well as the trees, black and white; and the nude parts of the body are coloured in burnt sienna.[6]

The life history of Gotama especially the part when he attained enlightenment is also very popular. The Ananda Pagoda has eighty stone reliefs on this episode.[7]

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1 See also Pl. 242[27]

2 See Fausboll: *The Jākatas*, Vol.VI (1896) and *Ep.Birm.*, II, i, Introduction, p.v

3 In abbreviated form the order is *Te Ja Su Ne Ma Bhū Caṁ Nā Wi We* in which *Te* is for *Temi Jāt* or *Mūgapakkha*, *Ja* for *Mahājanaka*, *Su* for *Suvaṇṇa Sāma*, *Ne* for *Nemi jāt* or *Nimi*, *Ma* for *Maho jāt* or *Mahā-Ummagga*, *Bhū* for *Bhūridatta*, *Caṁ* for *Candakumārajāt* or *Khaṇḍahāla*, *Nā* for *Mahānāradakassapa*, *Wi* for *Vidhura* and *We* for *Vessantara*. Even to-day in Burma, it is believed that writting these ten abbreviated names by stylus on ones finger nails prevent all dangers and this sort of precaution is resorted to especially in times of epidemics like plague, cholera and smallpox.

4 Professor G.H.Luce in *JBRS*, XXXII, i, 85 says that the paintings of the Gubyaukgyi at Wetkyi-in are 'the pride of the Burmese painter's art'.

5 *ASI*, 1912-13, p.93 and Pl.LX, figures 57,58,59

6 C.Duroiselle believes that originally there were 547 frescoes, half of which were on the northern wall and the remainder on the south. In 1899, Dr. Thomman, who worked in the interest of the Hamburg Ethnographical Museum, tried to take them away but was stopped. Thus, out of 547 frescoes only 210 remain. Each *Jātaka* measures 5½ " by 6½ " and the reamining portion of the paintings on the north wall measures 13'11" by 3'5" and on the south 6'11" by 3'5". They are in a very dilapidated condition.

7 Duroiselle: *The Ananda Temple at Pagan* (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs, No. 56), p. 11

In the niches of the Ananda are numerous Buddha icons. Roughly they fall into two types: one seated on a throne in *Vyākhyāna mudrā*—the act of preaching with the hands before the breast, and the other in the common *Bhūmisparśa mudrā*—earth touching attitude. It is of note that seven of the images have no *ushnisha*—the accretion on the head (see illustration), and many of them have normal fingers quite distinct from the modern images with fingers of the same length. In the middle of the temple stand four colossal images placed back to back and each facing the four cardinal points., The height of the pedestal is 8 feet and each image stands 31 feet high. Starting from the north these images represent respectively the four Buddhas viz. *Kakusandha*, *Koṇāgamana*, *Kassapa* and *Gotama* of which only two images, those on the north and south are considered to be original and contemporary with the foundation of the pagoda. They both have their hands raised to the breast in the *dharmacakra mudrā*[1]. The image on the western side i.e. of *Gotama* has two statues flanking its sides. These images have been identified by some authorities as those of *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* and *Mahāthera* Arahan.

> The king has the usual royal ornaments, viz. a crown, a necklace or breast-plate and anklets. His dress consists of a close-fitting jacket and a lower garment of which the folds are clearly discernible. Shin Arahan is distinguishable by his cleanshaven head and the lack of ornaments[2].

In the west porch there are also two *Buddha-pāda*—Buddha's foot-prints—each bearing the traditional 108 marks.[3] The Lawkananda pagoda and the Shwezigon pagoda have also similar foot-prints dating back to our period.[4] One inscription dated A.D. 1294 mentions a *Buddha-pāda* being painted with various colours.[5]

Professionals who made images of Buddha were called *purhāsamā* and they were paid either in cash or kind or sometimes both. In one instance a female slave was sold to pay the image-maker.[6] The Sawhlawin inscription (1236)[7] records that wages for the *purhā samā* were 30 ticals of silver, one piece of black linen and one horse for making ten *purhā ryap* —standing Buddhas.

Sometimes the height or the height and weight of a standing Buddha equalled the height or the height and weight of the donor and such a one was called a *ryaptuiṅpurhā* or the *kuiw ryap tuiṅ purhā* but this is not synonymous with "portrait-statues"[8] of Khmer Cambodia where a royal personage was thus apotheosized. The following extract will show us that a standing Buddha was made equal in height to that of the king (?*Klacwā*) but it was not the portrait-statue of the king apotheosized as Buddha.

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1 *ASI*, Memoir No. 56, Plate VII, figs. 1 & 2

2 *Ibid*, p.13

3 Commentaries like *Anāgatavaṁsa-Atthakathā*, *Samantabaddikā Aṭṭhakathā* and *Jinālaṅkāraṭikā* have the full list.

4 Pl.238[19]

5 Pl.97[3, 16, 18, 21]

6 For a full discussion see U Mya: "A Note on the Buddha's Foot-Prints in Burma", *ASI*, 1930-4, Part 2, pp.320-31

7 Pl.283[7]

8 L.P. Briggs: *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, pp.229-30

//Sakarac 600 pussa nhac Namkā la chan 4 ryak Krassapatiy niy skhiṅ Ui Plañ Wa Saṅ kuiw atuiw skhiṅ Rājāsū piy taw mū so Toṅ Nī Ṅā Chū kywan 73 yok sa kā maṅ aryap taw tuiṅ anok purhā ryap 1 chū skhiṅ Ui Plañ Wa Saṅ aryap tuiṅ rhuy purhā ryap 1 chū rhuy purhā thaway 2 chū ī purhā 4 chū so kuiw lup klwañ ciy hu lhū sate//[1]

On 17 July 1238, seventy three slaves (from) *Ṅā Chū* of *Toṅ Nī*, given by Lord *Rājasū* to Lady *Ui Plañ Wa Saṅ* were dedicated to look after four images of the Buddha (namely) a standing Buddha on the west made to the height of the king, a gold standing Buddha made to the height of Lady *Ui Plañ Wa Saṅ* and two gold sitting Buddhas.[2]

There are may instances of these *ryāptuiṅ purha* and *kuiw ryāp tuiṅ purhā*. One *Ṅa Ñuiw Saṅ* in A.D. 1263 made *kuiw ryip tuiṅ phurhā*—an image equal to his weight—and dedicated three slaves to look after the image when he and his beloved wife passed away.[3] In A.D.1270 two ladies of *Sacmati* (near Pagan) who called themselves *sukrway ma krī*—elder rich woman—and *sukrway maṅai*—younger rich woman—made two images as tall as themselves and dedicated slaves to administer to them.[4] The king's *maṅ myā moṅ*—brother-in-law, *Ṅā Mryat Saṅ* also made an image of his height and weight.[5] In A.D. 1276 the wife of *Phuṅ Sañ Jayabhin* dedicated slaves to an image made to her height.[3] Nevertheless there is no indication whatever for considering these *ryāp tuiṅ purhā* as "portrait statues". They were just the images of Buddha except for the fact that they are of the donor's measurements. Perhaps the donor's ambition was the boon of Buddhahood.

To consider the Buddha as God would be absurd, but to some early Burmans he was something similar. Infinite faith in Him gave, it is believed, long life and happiness. One donor called *Jayyasiṅ* spent 10,000 ticals of silver in A.D. 1197 in founding religious establishments leaving aside some treasures for repairs when necessary. Then he said:

//mlat cwā so purhā skhiṅ e ānūphaw nuik asak rhañ e, hū mū kā ṅā plu lā aṁ sate //ṅā asa te mā rhañ mū kā// ṅā miyyā //skhiṅ// Ṅā Koṅ Rhañ Saṅ Skhiṅ Ṅā (Thwak) Saṅ //Skhiṅ Noṅ Thoṅ// ī mhya so plu aṁ so hut a//[6]

If the most exalted Lord wills it I will live long and do the repairs (myself). If I do not live long, let my wife and (my) lords (of the monastery) *Ṅā Koṅ Rhañ Saṅ*, *Ṅā Thwak Saṅ*, and *Noṅ Thoṅ* do the repairs.

Thus in A.D. 1190 a donor named *Siṅghāsūra* dedicated musicians such as *cañsañ*—drummers, and *pantyā*—?nautches, for the enjoyment of music.[7] Old Burmans apparently thought the Buddha was a living deity. May be as a super celestial king because they endowed Him with all the earthly luxuries that a mighty potentiate has. Slaves dedicated to Him were of various professions. Such musicians as *pasāsañ*[8]—side drummers, *saro sañ*[9]—violinist,

1 Pl.130[1-5]
2 See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p.58
3 Pl.209[1-5]
4 Pl.229[17-18-19]
5 Pl.253a[6]
6 Pl.185-9
7 Pl.10a[16]
8 Pl.10a[16], Pl.31[1], Pl.105a[25], Pl.138[10] & Pl.387a[5]
9 Pl.387a[5]

ñhaṅ saññ[1]—trumpeters, *candrā sañ*[2]—?dulcimer players, *sikraṅ sañ*[3]—singers, and *kakhriy sañ*[4]—dancers, were also mentioned in the inscriptions of our period as slaves for the Buddha. The wife of *Kaṅkasū*[5] gave the services of such persons as *panpwat*—turners, *panpu*—sculptors, *pankhī*—painters, *puran*—masons, *cāriy*—secretaries, *nwāthiṅ*—cowherds, *panthin* goldsmiths, *ūyan sañ*—gardeners, and *kuhā sañ*—launderers, when she dedicated them to the Buddha in A.D. 1242. In the same year *Cuiw Maṅ* gave to the Buddha slaves such as *sanryaṅ sañ*—palanquin bearers, *kuhā sañ*—launderers, *thī sañ*—umbrella bearers, and *yan sañ*—weavers[6]. In A.D. 1243, *Samanta Kuṁthaṁ*, the uncle of King *Uccanā* (?1249-56) dedicated an elephant called *Ṅa Khyāt Phuy* to the Buddha and his disciples[7]. Such slaves as *muchit rip*[8]—barbers, *haṅ sañ thamaṅ sañ amay sañ*[9]—cooks, and *kwaṁ sañ*[10]—servers of betel, were also dedicated to the Buddha. The following extract from an inscription (A.D.1241) recording the offerings of *Cāw*, the queen of *Narasiṅgha-Uccanā* (?1231-5) is a very good example of how the Buddha is served with articles of daily use.

> *||parikkhārā|| ok purhā saṅkan tāw tuyaṅ 1 ||tankhyat|| athak purhā saṅkan tāw tankyat riy 1 ||rhuy salawan 1|| īmrā tāw nak pūcaṅ taṁtuiṅ1 ||khaṁ taṅ mwan 1|| khaṅ nhī ūṁ acuṁ|| kwaṁ khyap 1 kriy chīmī tuiṅ kriy pratuiw, ||kriy krā krī 1|| khoṅ loṅ chway so chaṅ krā 1 ||rhuy sapit ṅuy sapit kriy pway 2 khu|| laṅpan 2 khlap khwak 5 up ||caloṅ krī 1|| narañcrā 8 khlap noṅnaṅ 9 khlap ||khwak khwaṅ suṁ chū khyū 3 chū|| ... ||parikkhārā kā rhuy salawan krī myak khat1|| pratuiw 1 ||kriy krā|| khwak khriy laṅpan nhac khlap|| khwak 5 up || cāloṅ||*[11]

Professor Pe Maung Tin's remark and translation of this extract is reproduced below.

> The anthropomorphism of Buddha-worship is well brought out in L.254 (Pl.138). The requisite things are for lower Buddha his wearing apparel 1 outer robe, 1 inner garment (?*tankyat*); for the upper Buddha his wearing apparel 1 embroidered inner garment, 1 gold couch, 1 apartment for his dwelling-place, 1 high cot complete with bed-covers and pillows, 1 betel box, copper oil lampstands, copper spittoons, 1 big copper kettle, 1 elephant-lotus from which the bell is hung, golden bowls, silver bowls, 2 pestles, 2 trays, 5 covered dishes, 1 big cooking pot-lid, 8 pieces of *narañcarā*, 9 of gongs, 3 cymbals, 3 castanets ... The requisite things are 1 big gold couch studded with gems, spittoon, copper kettle, 2 trays with cup-legs, 5 covered dishes, cooking pot-lid. It will be noticed that the lower Buddha is not wearing his royal outer robe (the *duyaṅ*) as he is represented as being 'at home', just as a king with his robe off might recline on the couch in his state-room after supper, chewing his betel as he listens to the strains of music.[12]

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1 Pl.396b^{18}
2 Pl.85^{9}
3 Pl.3^{18}, Pl.421b^{4}
4 Pl.15^{12}, Pl.31^{4}, Pl.102^{25}, Pl.391^{4}
5 Pl.144$^{4-16}$
6 Pl.148b$^{5-10}$
7 Pl.152^{24}
8 Pl.395^{30}
9 & 10 Pl.391$^{50-54}$
11 Pl. 138$^{15-17,\ 20-1}$
12 *JBRS*. XXVI. i. p.61

Most donors prayed for *nirvana* with no specifications. In some inscriptions we find that the donors prayed for Buddhahood. It is interesting because it is exceptional. Only the most ambitious reached for *nirvana* as the Buddhas. A king (most probably of the earlier half of the Pagan dynasty) prayed for Buddhahood.

> *Sirī Tribhuwanādityawaradhamma disampatiakāsi buddhapaṭimamimam sambodhi pattiyāti Sri Tribhuwanadityawaradhammarājā (dānapati)*[1]
>
> *Śrī Tribhuwanāditya*, the noble and righteous Lord of the Regions, made this image of the Buddha, for the attainment of omniscience. *Śrī Tribhuwanādityawaradhammrāja* (the Donor).

The Great Shwezigon inscription[2] mentions that king *Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja* (*Thīluiṅ Maṅ*) also prayed for omniscience. His successor King *Cañsū* I after the completion of Shwegugyi pagoda prayed thus:

> in strong desire for Buddhahood, he cried aloud this aspiration: "As this great Being, having fulfilled the ten Perfections and attained perfect knowledge, has released beings from bondage, so also would I hereafter, fulfilling the ten Perfections and having attained perfect knowledge, release beings from bondage!"[3]

In the Khemawara pagoda inscription, it is recorded that King *Nātoṅmyā* made a dedication with the desire to attain Buddhahood. It says:

> *//Sakarac 569 khu Jitasā....samwacchir nhac Tankhu l-chan 1 ryak 5 niy ā Sri Tribhawanādityāpawaradhammarājā mañ so Nātoṅmyā maṅkrī sañ sabbañu phurhā chu kuiw luiw khyaṅ ruy//*[4]
>
> On 18 March 1208, the great king *Nātoṅmyā* called *Srī Tribhawanādityāpawaradhammarājā*, desiring the boon of omniscience—Buddhahood, (made the following dedications).

Actually all the kings of the Pagan dynasty prayed for Buddhahood and *purhāloṅ*[5]—the future "purhā" or *purhā rhaṅ taw*[6]—the living "purhā", in the inscriptions of this period invariably means the then reigning king.

Apart from the kings some great ministers and learned scholars too asked for the Buddhahood in their prayers. A few extracts given below regarding this particular kind of prayer will give us a good picture of what they felt about Buddhahood. In A.D.1190, *Siṅghasū* (*Nātoṅmyā*'s minister) prayed thus:

> *saṅssārā chuiw ṅray khappāy soh kun rā phlac so sabbañu mañ so // purhā aphlac kuiw luiw soh kroṅ,*[7]

1 Pl.568b
2 *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, ID 15–17, pp.102 and 121
3 Pl.1 stanzas 30–2; *BBHC*, I, i, 19
4 Pl.31 1–3
5 Pl.36 3, Pl.90 2,5,6, Pl.115 3,5, Pl.133 29, etc.
6 Pl.113 2, Pl.115 13, Pl.141a 13, Pl.174 14, Pl.194 1, etc.
7 Pl.10a 2-4

(I made this dedication) because I want *sabbaññu* which is also called Buddhahood —the end of all miseries in the chain of rebirths.

Knowing that such a reward will be fulfilled only in a very remote future, he took special care to ask for all good things in the intermediate lives before he attained Buddhahood. Perhaps his love of music also compelled him to ask as follows:

//purhā ma phrac so krā // pañcaṅgatūr mañ so cañ ñhyaṅ phlaṅ nhuiw tha tha so cañcim luiw ra kā // cañ kri pantyā plu so // cañsañ kā//[1]

Meantime, before I become the Buddha, I want the fortune of being excited by the five kinds of musical instruments such as drums and trumpets. Therefore I dedicate the following players on big drums and ?nautches. The drummers are...

As one who prays for Buddhahood should receive the prophecy of the Buddhas about his future enlightenment[2] he is very anxious to meet *Maitreya* the next Buddha and to receive a prophecy from his very lips. In A.D. 1182 one donor prayed to this effect.

/ṅā kā Mitryā purhā shhiṅ thaṁ byadissa ra r(u)iy sattwā khapsim so kūw saṅsarā chuiw ñray mha kāy pi tat so phlac lūw so te,//[3]

May I receive from *Maitreya* the prophecy (of my future Buddhahood) and become the Buddha) so that I may be able to redeem all beings from the miseries of *saṁsāra*.

An inscription of A.D. 1198 gives us a rough idea of the means to attain Buddhahood. He said:

/īy mhyā so koṅmhu akluiw phlaiṅ // staṅ sum so akluiw phlaṅ // byat-tā mū so aklaw phlaṅ // alhū piy so akluw phlaṅ // purhā chū ṅā rā luiw so teḥ //[4]

For the benefit of this amount of merit (namely) the benefit for observing the religious precepts, the benefit for (?meditating on kindness and love) and the benefit for giving away ones property in charity, may I receive the reward of Buddhahood.

The ten *pāramī*[5] must be fulfilled in order to reach the highest form of enlighten-

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1. Pl.10a[14-17] See also *JBRS*, XXVI, iii, 135
2. *Mahāvaṁsa* (1950 Reprint) pp. 1-2; Pl. 8a[6], Pl. 283[24], *Ep.Birm.*, I, ii, Ayetthama Hill inscription (now at the Rangoon University Library) V[50]
3. Pl. 8a[5-8]
4. Pl. 21[17-19]

5. Queen Saw in an inscription dated A.D. 1291 (Pl. 273[5-4]) mentioned that there are 10 *pāramī* for those who aspire for Buddhahood. They are:

1. *Dā apāramī* (the perfection of charity)
2. *Sīlapāramī* (the perfection of behaviour)
3. *Nekkhammapāramī* (the perfection of renunciation)
4. *Paññāpāramī* (the perfection of wisdom)
5. *Viriyapāramī* (the perfection of effort)
6. *Khantipāramī* (the perfection of patience)
7. *Saccapāramī* (the perfection of truth)
8. *Adhiṭṭhānapā·amī* (the perfection of resolution)
9. *Met·āpāramī* (the perfection of love)
10. *Up.khāpāramī* (the perfection of equanimity)

But according to W.Geiger (*Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 2, n. 1) this idea of 10 *pāramī* is late as they are not mentioned in the four *Nikāya*. See also Pl. 390[2], Pl. 413[2]

ment, i.e. Buddhahood. What is the extent of time required to fulfil there *pāramī*? *Jayasetthe* (?son-in-law of King *Cañsū* II) said that it would require

liy sanghey amlat kambhā tac sin[1] — 4 *asankheyya* plus 100,000 *kappa*.

Kappa means the life of the earth and *asankheyya*[2] means incalculable.

Medieval Burmans have coined a beautiful phrase of their own for the Pali word *sabbaññutāñāna* or omniscience as *si cap mran nham*—"know wide, see deep"[3]. Thus the Buddha knows everything and to obtain such a state of perfect knowledge certainly would require a very long time of practice and piety. *Anantasūra*, the Commander-in-chief of King *Nātonmyā* gave the reason of his dedication as:

nā le si cap mran nham, so sabbañutañān purhā chu kuiw luiw khlyān so kron[4]
Because I also desire the boon of Buddhahood or *sabbaññutāñāna* which is to know wide and see deep.

The famous monk *Mahākassapa* whom we believe to be the head of the *Araññavāsī*—forest dwelling sect, used a similar phrase when he prayed for omniscience. He said:

iy nā mū so konmhu akluiw phlan kā si cap mran cap so sabbañūtaññam purhā chu kuiw lhyan luiw sate //[5]

For the benefit of this merit (that) I made, may I get the boon of Buddhahood—*sabbaññutāñāna* which is to know wide and see wide.

Lady *Caw*, the aunt of King *Tarukpliy* also used the same phrase when she asked for Buddhahood.

|Sakarac 622 khu Kratuik samwarcchā nhac Namyun l-chut 3 ryak Caniy niy phurhā rhān tāw arī Caw ī lu twan nhuik atuin ma sī satdhā lā rhuy plu so konmhu akluiw kā riy mliy khapsīmm so askhin phlac so mankrī ca so manni mansā mansami mannhama khapsim amīphurhā ca so monma khapsim amattyā ca so puilpā khapsim // ok Awīciy ca so athak phwak tuin on atuiw cakkrawalā ca so atuin ma sī so cakkrāwalā nhuik niy so lū nat sattawā khapsim akrwan may saphlan sansarā chan nray mha thwak mlok kha ruy channray may so nirrabban prañ suiw rok ciy khlyan so kron // nā le si cap mran nhamm so sabbañutaññan phurhā chu kuiw luiw so kron //[6]

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1. Pl. 15[4-6] (A.D. 1197) See also Pl. 390[2], Pl. 413[2]

2. "The neuter *Asankheyyam* is the highest of the numerals, and is equal to 10,000,000[20] or 1 followed by 140 cipher." R.C. Childers: *A Dictionary of The Pali Language* (1875) p. 59

3. *JBRS*, XXII, iii, p. 126 (Know thorough, see extensive)

4. Pl. 73[5-6] (A.D. 1223)

5. Pl. 140b[22-5] (A.D. 1242)

6. Pl. 194[1-6]

On Saturday 28 May 1260, (Lady) *Caw*, the aunt of the reigning king (*Tarukpliy*) made dedications (as she was) in this life greatly moved by faith (in the Religion). As for the benefits of this meritorious deed, may all (the Royalty) starting with the Great King who is the lord of all water and land, all the King's brothers, all the King's sons, all the King's daughters and all the King's sisters, all the ladies-in-waiting starting with the queens, all the retinues starting with the ministers, all beings including mankind and *deva* living in this universe between *Avici* below and zenith above and in all other universes without number, be freed from the miseries of rebirth and reach the city of *Nirvana* where there is no misery. I also want omniscience, to know wide and see deep[1] i.e. the boon of Buddhahood.

Minister *Jeyapikrama* gave another interpretation of Buddhahood. He said:

> ...*ram mak 1500 mha kan ruy saccā tryā 4 pā pwan so sabbañutāññan prañā ra ruy purhā lhyan phlac luiw sate*//[2]
>
> May I become a Buddha endowed with the wisdom of *sabbaññutāñāṇa* when the Law of Four Truths blossomed (within me) and I am free from the 1500 desires.

In A.D. 1276, Princess *Acaw* after obtaining the King's permission, built a monastery for *Anantapañā* on a site to the east of *Āmanā* (Minnanthu) and dedicated 1366 *pay* of land and 149 slaves to the above religious establishment that she had founded. Then she explains the reason for her donation:

> //*īy mhya lok so uccā kuiw kā ṅā ma khyac ruy lhū sa kā ma hut // īy uccā kuiw khyac so thak-kā purhā aphlac kuiw khyac mlat cwā rakā ṅā lhū sate*//[3]
>
> I dedicate so much property not that I do not love it but that I love Buddhahood more.

In A.D. 1291 another *Caw*, this time a queen of *Tarukpliy* (probably the famous Queen Saw of the chronicles)[4] prayed for Buddhahood.

> / *achuṁ cwan so kuiw aphlac nhuik-kā // Mittaryā purhā skhin tan tay khran suiw lhyan tantay lyak // lū nat khapsi so kuiw // sansarā chuiw nray mha kay piy lyak // niyrapan prañ krī suiw lhyan chon piy kun lyak // sabbaññuta-ñan purhā chū lhyan plañ-cuṁ khlyan e*, //[5]
>
> In my last life I want sublimity of the same nature as the sublimity of the Lord *Maitreya* and after helping all the men and *deva* out of the miseries of *samsarā*

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1. This phrase *si cap mran nham* for omniscience has lost its original meaning with the passage of time and in its new form *si mran nham, cap* it only means resourcefulness.
2. Pl. 175^{27-8}
3. Pl. $344b^{12-14}$
4. *JBRS* XXXII,i,p.81 : "...the great Queen Saw (*Co*) of the chronicles is a medley of at least two Saws of history. Nor did she start as a farmer's daughter, with the lowly if useful function of scratching the king's back when he was itchy: she was, on the contrary, the first lady of the land, sister of the late queen of royal birth on her mother's side, of high ministerial rank on her father's."
5. Pl.275^{12-15}

10.U.P. Q.144.1000.23.8.78

> and taking all of them to the grand city of *Nirvana*, (I myself want) the fulfilment of my boon for omniscience—Buddhahood.

As mentioned above, only the very ambitious prayed for omniscience. There is an extraordinary case of a man and his wife praying for Buddhahood.[1] A *sukrway*—wealthy man, whose name is not legible after building eight alms houses and planting some banyan trees (*ficus indica*) made a dedication of one hundred ticals of silver and ten slaves and prayed thus:

> *ṅā myā nhaṅ ṅā kā phurhā chu ma lway ra luiw state*[2]
>
> May I and my wife without fail get the boon of Buddhahood.

This is very unusual, because no such express wish for both man and wife is mentioned in any other known inscriptions. Owing to the fact that the Buddha is always a male, it was thought proper for ambitious women to pray first for manhood in the coming existences and Buddhahood later. We have mentioned above that Lady *Caw*, the aunt of *Tarukpliy* prayed for Buddhahood but here is an extract in which the same lady prayed for manhood when she made a dedication in A.D. 1265 at the Kutha pagoda, north of the Dhammayaẓika, Pagan:

> *lū nat sattwā tricchan ma krwaṅ khapaṅ || saṅsarā chuiw ṅray mha || thwak mlok kha ruy || chuiw ṅray may so niyraban suiw rok ciy luiw so ṅhā || ṅā le īy miyṃa aphlac mha ḷwat kha ruy || lū rwā nat rwā kyuṅ lañ so khā staṅ prañā saccā saddhā plañ cuṁ cwā so yok-yā phlac ruy ||*[3]
>
> In order that man, *deva* and all beings without excepting the animals may be freed from the miseries of rebirth and may attain *nirvana* where there is no misery and that I also may be freed from this womanhood and in all my wanderings (i.e. future existences) in the village of men and the village of *deva*, I may be a man who is endowed with piety, wisdom, truth and believe (in the Religion of Buddha)...

The last point in this prayer is important. In her next existence, she wants to be a man believing in the Religion of the Buddha because it is possible that she may be born as an unbelieving man. Only when manhood had been attained would the donor pray for Buddhahood.

In none of the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of the *Anekajā*[4] ceremony which is very important nowadays. Modern Burmans when they have completed a pagoda or an image use the *Anekajā* without which the pagoda is just a pile of bricks and the image is just another statue none of which are considered worshipful. They must be properly consecrated. The ceremony requires the assembly of men and monks in which the monks

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1. See *JBRS* XXVI,ii,ip.132
2. Pl.213[15] (A.D. 1260)
3. Pl.249[6-9]
4. See Sackhyatoṅ U Tiloka: *Bhurā:Anekajā Taṅ*, (*Pāli* and *Nissaya*) Rangoon Kawimyakhman Press, (1926) and also U Ketu: *Anekajā Tikā* Rangoon Zabumeikshwe Press, (1932). The earliest mention of *anekajā* was perhaps made in 1480. See the *Kalyāṇī* inscription, *Ep. Birm.*, III, ii, M[52], p. 281

recite a formula beginning with *Aneka jāti saṁsāraṁ* which is supposed to be the very first words uttered by *Gotama* Buddha on attaining enlightenment. The formula is:

anekajātisaṁsāraṁ sandhāvissaṁ anibbisaṁ
gahakāraṁ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṁ
gahakāraka diṭṭhosi puna gehaṁ na kāhasi
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṁ visaṅkhitaṁ
visaṅkhāragataṁ cittaṁ taṇhānaṁ khayam ajjhagā

This occurs in the *Dhammapada* (153, 154) and a rough translation of it is:

Through worldly round of many births
I ran my course unceasingly,
Seeking the maker of the house:
Painful is birth again and again.
House-builder! I behold thee now,
Again a house thou shalt not build;
All thy rafters are broken now,
The ridge-pole also is destroyed;
The end of cravings has attained.[1]

Perhaps the people of Pagan thought that such a ceremony was not necessary at the end of building pagodas, etc.

The evidence cited above shows that the people of Burma in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. understood the doctrines of Buddha very well. They believed in the chain of rebirths, the miseries of life and they endeavoured for the final attainment of *nirvana*. It seems that the practice of charity was the most popular means of achieving merit. So great was the number of *pay* of land dedicated to the Religion that King *Klacwa* was forced to confiscate them all, which ultimately led to the appointment of a royal commission. As Buddhists they tolerated the existence of other religions. It is worthy of note that some considered the Buddha as God or some form of living deity and dedicated slaves of all professions and articles of everyday use so that the Buddha may enjoy them. The average Burman would say that he takes refuge in the Three Gems- *Purhā*-the Lord, *Tryā*- the Law, and *Saṅghā*- the Order: but *Purhā* to him was the most important of all.

1. E.J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p. 75

CHAPTER VI

TRYĀ

Tryā in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of the Buddha. It includes all laws—moral, legal or religious and thus it embraces also the customary observances or prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit *dharma* implies. In the inscriptions of our period the word *tryā* means firstly the Buddhist scriptural texts[1] synonymous with the *Tipiṭaka*, secondly the preachings[2] whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of *Gotama* to his congregation, thirdly a law suit[3], fourthly the judges[4] themselves and lastly to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, *atañ may so tryā*[5]—the law of impermanence. Thus the medieval Burman used the word *tryā* in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from *khuiw tryā*[6] a petty theft case—to *aklwat tryā*[7]—the attainment of *nirvana*. But the origin of this useful and comprehensive term is still an open question.

The derivation of the word *tryā* presents a real problem and no satisfactory solution has as yet been reached. Professor G.H. Luce suggests that it is probably the spoonerised Sanskrit *ṛitá* which means law. When Buddhism was first introduced among the Burmans, their language was still in its infancy and therefore they undoubtedly were confronted with the problem of being unable to find suitable words to translate some Indian philosophical terms and thus adopted many of such terms in their entire form. If this is so they should have adopted the more familiar *dharma* rather than *ṛitá*. The word *dharma*[8] was used by King *Thīluiṅ Maṅ* (1084–1113) in his Mon inscriptions. But from the reign of King *Cañsū* II (AD. 1174–1211) when Burmese became the language for inscriptions the combination *pūrhā tryā saṅghā*[9] was used for *buddha dhamma sangha* meaning the Lord, the Law, and the Order, and thus *tryā* becomes the Burmese term for *dhamma* with only one exception where

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1. Pl. 27[18], Pl. 50[1], Pl. 73[16], Pl. 102[27], Pl. 194[14], Pl. 234[4], Pl. 249[21], Pl. 251[4], etc

2. Pl. 17[3,5,9], Pl. 224[4,5,7], Pl. 27[15], (Pl. 53[18]), Pl. 67[11], Pl. 202[25], Pl. 233[15], Pl. 262[58], Pl. 308[25], Pl. 370[18], Pl. 390[16,16,17], Pl. 391[1], Pl. 428[22], and Pl. 581a[18]

3. Pl. 74[15], Pl. 79b[27], Pl. 117a[2,4,6,9,15], Pl. 120b[17], Pl. 141a[11,16], Pl. 174[15,16], Pl. 272[26], Pl. 381[28]

4. Pl. 141a[5], Pl. 191b[10], Pl. 307a[1], Pl. 381[27,28,31,37], Pl. 394[5], Pl. 560f[7,10]

5. Pl. 82b[10], Pl. 182b[18], Pl. 235[55]. Other phrases used in connection with death are *nat rwā lā*—gone to the village of *deva* (Pl. 147a[5], Pl. 428[15]) and *pyaṁ taw mū*—the royal return—as if the *devaloka* was one's real abode and the life in this world of men was only a short visit (Pl. 158[10], Pl. 203[2]) and so by death a man returns to his old place. The phrase *masā* which nowadays means a corpse was in those days only signified serious illness—*masā so* (Pl. 201a[14], Pl. 272[21], Pl. 274[18])

1. Pl. 141a[14,14]

2. (Pl. 202[25]), Pl. 216[15], Pl. 235[21], Pl. 247[26]

3. Old Mon: I D[21,25] (*saddhamma*)[55] ; I E[9,16] (*saddharmma*) [25,59]; I F[28], I G[20,30], I H[4], III C[16,21], VIII A[24]

4. Pl. 13[5,11,15], Pl. 25[3,51], Pl. 42[2,5], Pl. 44a[4], Pl. 69[2,10], Pl. 80[2], Pl. 83[5], Pl. 89[55], Pl. 90[14], Pl. 102[8], Pl. 103[5], Pl. 127a[5], Pl. 131a[2], Pl. 132a[4], Pl. 133[1], Pl. 143a[8,22], Pl. 144[2], Pl. 147a[5], Pl. 147b[20], Pl. 148a[6], Pl. 148b[4], Pl. 152[7], Pl. 175[25], Pl. 186[2], Pl. 190a[12], Pl. 192[9], Pl. 196[20], Pl. 200[16], Pl. 205[5,21,22,24], Pl. 208[2], Pl. 220[1,9], Pl. 229[11], Pl. 232[5,6], Pl. 233[6], Pl. 234[1,11,44], Pl. 235[5,8,44], Pl. 239[2], Pl. 245b[4], Pl. 247[2,12], Pl. 249[1,25], Pl. 250[12], Pl. 254a[5], Pl. 256[25], Pl. 257[2], Pl. 266a[14], Pl. 289[2], Pl. 308[8,12]

dhammasattha—the Code of Law, is retained in its original form *dhammasāt*[1] up to this day. Very often this *tryā* has been suffixed or prefixed to *maṅ*—the King—to form either *maṅtryā*[2] or *tryāmaṅ*[3] and this combination suggests that this *tryā* is the Sanskrit *trā* which means a protector or defender. Then the *maṅtryā* or *tryāmaṅ*[4] would be translated as the King-Protector. Unfortunately these terms also happen to be the translation of *dhammarāja*[5]—the just king—which appears frequently in the panegyric of King *Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* (*Thiluiṅ Maṅ*) in the early Mon inscriptions. The derivation of *Tryā* is thus still a mystery.

Tryā in a religious sense is the *Tipiṭaka* and to denote a compilation it is used together with the word *apuṁ*[6]—the heap. The whole phrase would be *piṭaka suṁ puṁ so tryā apuṁ le plu e*,[7]—"three heaps of *piṭaka* (i.e.) the heap of law are also made" whereby the donor means that he has caused the whole set of the *piṭaka* to be copied and kept at the Library in the monastery which he had just built. In A.D. 1223 minister *Anantasūra*[8] made a great monastic establishment at a place called *Amanā*[9] and took special care to provide it with a set of *piṭaka*. In A.D. 1250 Princess Saw, also known as *Arī Caw* (aunt of King *Tarukpliy*) who built a big monastery at *Sacmatī*[10] also provided it with a set of *piṭaka*,[11] as the

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1. Pl. 174[14] (A.D. 1228)

2. Pl. 141a[10], Pl. 597c[5]

3. Pl. 96[5], Pl. 273[21], Pl. 299[6], Pl. 303[5,8,9,10], Pl. 390[6], Pl. 413[7]

4. Incidentally, because of this combination of *maṅtryā* or *tryāmaṅ* certain scholars have been lead to think that a king in Burma is considered as the best Buddhist on the assumption that the law in connection with the king's name was the Buddhist law (See Kyaw Thet: *Burma's Relation with her Eastern Neighbours*, 1752-1819 Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, ff. 3-5) The fact that all Burmese kings considered themselves as *Bodhisattva* supports this idea—the position of a man is attributed to his deads in past existences, a Burman Buddhist would consider the king as a man who had acquired a considerable amount of merit in his anterior lives but he would not rate him as the best Buddhist. The Buddhist par excellence would be *Gotama* Buddha himself, who renounced the world and became an ascetic. To the average Burman the *Charātoau*—the head priest of a monastic establishment, would definitely be a better Buddhist than the king who lives with many queens and concubines. To quote a popular story, once King Mindon sent one of his junior *amat* to go and find out what the Bhamo Sayadaw was doing at his forest retreat in a valley of the Sagaing Hills. The indiscreet officer approached the Sayadaw directly and told him the nature of his visit. The Sayadaw who was famous for his caustic tongue, replied: "Your king must take me as a rebel or perhaps he wants to instruct me in the way of the ascetics. Tell him that a man who lives between the hills does not need instructions from a man who lives between the thighs (of women)." To the great displeasure of the king the officer went back and reported the reply verbatim. For this amusing story see Hsaya Thein: *Upamāsamūhagīrakkhama Kyam:*, II, pp. 277-8.

5. Old Mon. I G[3,4,22], III A[4,11,17,24], III B[5,28], III C[2,8,11,22,25,27], III D[4,16], V[50], VI[4,25,52] VIII B[15,23,24], IX F[22]

6. Pl. 73[18], Pl. 116[3], Pl. 164[5], Pl. 194[14], Pl. 205[4,10,11,12], Pl. 220[8], Pl. 225a[5], Pl. 234[8], Pl. 248[2], Pl. 249[21], Pl. 275[20], Pl. 289[3], Pl. 390[11], Pl. 393[22], Old Mon. IIIC[15], VIIA[5]

7. Pl. 73[18], Pl. 194[14], Pl. 249[21]

8. Pl. 73

9. Minnanthu, east of Pagan

10. Pwazaw, south-east of Pagan

11. Pl. 194 (A.D. 1271)

minister mentioned above had done before her. In A.D. 1265 she gave another set probably to the same establishment.[1] Nevertheless we should not have the impression that the monastery was the only place where religious works were kept in those days. The kings had them in their palaces too. In A.D. 1102, King *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* completed building his new palace in which there was a separate apartment where the statues of the Buddha and Gavaṁpati together with a set of *Tipiṭaka* were kept.[2] The king, according to the Prome Shwesandaw Pagoda inscription,[3] gave an order to make a careful copy of the *Tipiṭaka*. In the Myagan inscription a similar statement is made:

> He shall purify and make straight, write down and establish all the Holy Scriptures.[4]

This may have lead Dr. C.O. Blagden to remark,

> That is to say, he is to issue a revised edition of the Buddhist Canon.[5]

As this statement occurs in a panegyric of the king, in all probability, it only meant the making of a careful copy of the *Tipiṭaka* by order of the king for his palace. A minister called *Caturaṅgapaccaya*[6] is mentioned as a person well versed in the *Tipiṭaka* and therefore it may be expected that such persons would have their own private sets.

The cost of a set of *piṭaka* was extremely high. In A.D. 1248 Princess *Acawkrwam*[7] mentions that the price she paid for her set of *piṭaka* was 2027 ticals of silver. In A.D. 1273 another donor *Saṁpyaṅ Lak Choṅ*[8] built a monastery with a library at an expense of 2300 ticals of silver to which he gave a set of *piṭaka* valued at 3000 ticals of silver. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one *pay* of land[9] (1.75 acres) with that amount one could buy an estate of 2000 acres. This gives us a rough idea of the cost of a set of *piṭaka*.

The *Tipiṭaka* is divided into 84,000 *dhammakhandha* or sections according to subjects and a medieval Burman knew that a complete set must contain all these sections. In A.D. 1267 a daughter of King *Klacwā*, said:

> *// purhā heau tha so nikay 5 pā dhammakhan yyac soṅ le thoṅ thā aṁ so ṅhā rhuy......pitakaṭ suṁ puṁ le-plu e' //*[9]
>
> In order to keep the the teachings of the Lord—5 *nikāya*, 84,000 *dhamma-khandha*, (I made) a golden (? case).

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1. Pl. 249
2. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, pp. 37-8; (IX.A[51-2])
3. *Ibid.*, I, ii, VIII, A[5]
4. *Ibid.*, I, ii, III C[15-16]
5. *Ibid.*, I, ii, p. 141, n. 11
6. Pl. 289[5]
7. Pl. 164[37]
8. Pl. 243[14]
9. Pl. 162[28,52] See Appendix I
10. Pl. 220[7]

In A.D. 1245 Queen Saw, the grandmother of *Tarukpliy* built a brick monastery which was perhaps a separate library building in a monastic establishment. It was record as:

> *// purhā haw so nikāy ñā pā yhat soṅ liy thoṅ tryā piṭakat sum puṁ thā aṁ so ṅhā Kūlā kloṅ le plu e, // thuiw kloṅ twaṅ rhuy talā nhaṅ pitakat le thā e, //*[1]
>
> In order to keep the teachings of the Lord—5 *nikāya*, 84,000 *tryā* of the three heaps of *piṭaka*, (I) built a brick monastery. In that monastery the (said) *piṭaka* is kept in a golden case.

In A.D. 1274 a minister of *Tarukpliy* built a monastery at *Āmanā* with a separate library built of bricks where the 84,000 *dhammakhanddha* were kept in a golden cabinet[2]. But not all *piṭaka dāyakā*[3]—donors of *piṭaka*—were able to give away complete sets.

Some donors, who could not afford the whole set, gave just what was needed at the particular library to which they wanted to contribute or copies which they thought would be of the greatest use. An inscription of A.D. 1223, mentions the list of works given to a library.[4] They were:

1. *Vinaya*—five volumes[5]
2. *Dīghanikāya*—nine volumes, text and commentaries[6]
3. *Netti (pakaraṇa)*—five volumes[7]
4. *Majjhimanikāya*—nine volumes[8]
5. *Aṅguttaranikāya*—ten volumes[9]
6. *Vissuddhimagga*—two volumes[10]
7. *Khuddakanikāya*—nine volumes text and commentaries[11]

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1. Pl. 234[8]
2. Pl. 247[10]
3. Pl. 264[4], Pl. 464a[1]
4. Unfortunately this inscription (*List*..187, *B* II 171) is only a copy made in King Bodawpaya's reign but in the absense of the original one, we are inclined to accept it as the best material and therefore it is included here.
5. The five are *Pārājika*, *Pācittiya*, *Mahāvagga*, *Cūlavagga* and *Parivāra*.
6. It forms the first book of the *Suttantapiṭaka* and consists of thirty-four long *sutta*, divided into three *vagga*—the *Sīlakkhandha*, the *Mahāvagga* and the *Pātheya* or *Pāṭikavagga*. *DPPN*, I, p. 1082
7. An exegetical work on the *piṭaka* ascribed to *Kaccāna*. *DPPN*, II, p. 85. There are fifteen texts in the *Khuddhakanikāya* of the *Suttantapiṭaka* but in Burma four additions are made, viz., the *Milindapañha*, the *Suttasaṅgaha*, the *Peṭakapadesa* and the *Netti* or *Nettipakaraṇa*. See M.H. Bode: *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 5, n. 2.
8. It is the second book of the *Suttantapiṭaka* containing discourses of medium length. It consists of eighty *bhāṇavāra* and is divided into three sections of fifty *sutta* each (*paṇṇāsa*), the last *paṇṇāsa* containing fifty two *sutta*. *DPPN*, II, p. 418
9. It is the fourth book of the *Suttantapiṭaka*, consisting of eleven *nipāta* (sections) and 9,557 *sutta*. *DPPN*, I, p. 21
10. "Path of Purity" by *Buddhaghosa*—an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings. *DPPN*, II, p. 906
11. The fifth and last of the *Suttantapiṭaka* and it contains all the most important collections of Pali poetry. See above (note [7]).

8. *Milindapañhā*[1]
9. *Anāgatavaṁsa Aṭṭhakathā*[2]
10. *Mahāvāramañjūsā Ṭīkā*[3]
11. *Thūpavaṁsa*[4]
12. *Bodhivaṁsa*—text and commentaries[5]
13. *Mahāvaṁsa*[6]
14. *Tathagatuppatti*[7]
15. *Kaccāyana*[8]
16. *Nyāsa Ṭīkā*[9]
17. *Mahāthera Ṭīkā*[10]
18. *Cūḷasandhivisodhana*[11]
19. *Sandhivisodhana Ṭīkā*
20. *Mahājanaka (Jātaka)*[12]
21. (Major) *Jātaka*—seven volumes
22. *Abhidhammā*—seven volumes[13]

This donor therefore gave an almost complete set of *Piṭaka* as all *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* and some *Sutta* works together with such popular Sinhalese works as *Mahāvaṁsa, Thūpavaṁsa* and *Anāgatavaṁsa* were included in his list.

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1. The conversations between King *Milinda* of *Sāgala* (the Baktrian king Menander) and the Buddhist Elder *Nāgasena*. *DPPN*, II, pp. 636–7
2. A poem on the story of *Metteyya*, the future Buddha by an elder called *Kassapa*, an inhabitant of the *Coḷa* country. *DPPN*,I, p. 66
3. Grammatical commentary or gloss. In the list of 295 works given by the Governor of Taungdwin to a library in A.D. 1442 (*List* 934, *PPA*. 83-6, *TN*. 39-47, M.H. Bode: *Op.cit.*, 101–9) it is No. 227, *Mañjūsāṭīkābyākhyam*
4. A Pali poem written by *Vācissara*. It has sixteen chapters, the last eight of which contain a description of the *Mahā Thūpa* by *Duṭṭagāmaṇi* at *Anurādhapura*. The work probably belongs to the 12th century. *DPPN*, I, p. 1042
5. The history of the arrival of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon, written in about the 10th century probably by *Upatissa*. *DPPN*, II, p. 537
6. *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon* up to the time of King Mahāsena, attributed to Mahānāma Thera.
7. Perhaps written by the *thera Ñāṇagambhīra* of Pagan. M.H Bode: *Op.cit.*, p. 16
8. Probably this is the same as *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*, a grammatical treatise explaining the *sūtra* (aphorisms) of the *Kaccāyana*, *Ibid.*, p. 17
9. Another grammatical work also known as *Mukhamattadīpani*, probably written by *Mahā Vimalabubdhi* of Pagan. *Ibid.*, p. 21
10. It appears also in the inscription (*List*. 934) mentioned above (note 3) as No. 140
11. No. 159 of the above inscription
12. *Jātaka* No. 539
13. The seven being *Dhammasaṅgani*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññati*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Patthāna*

// . U.P. Q./44 . 1000 . 23.8 . 78 .

Some donors only gave *Vinaya* texts to monastic establishments probably due to the growing demand for them as a result of the increasing number of monks or to the growing laxity in the observance of the *Vinaya* among the monks in general. In A.D. 1220 *Suvaṇṇapaccaya* recorded his contributions towards the library at the monastery of *Skhiṅ Athapatiy.*

> // *piytakata ū Silakhamdhawāsī tac klam // Abhidhaammasaṅginī tac klam Tassa Jat tac klam // Dhammapada tac klaṁ Wineñ tac pum le plu kha phlu e* //[1]
>
> I have also made one volume of *Sīlakhhandha*—the first book of the *piṭaka*, one volume of *Dhammasaṅgani*, one volume of the Ten *Jātaka*, one volume of the *Dhammapada* and one heap of the *Vinaya.*

Out of the three *piṭaka*, the doner began with the very first book, i.e. the *Sīlakkhandha* of the *Dighanikāya* in the *Suttantapiṭaka*.[2] Then he added two more popular books of the *Suttantapiṭaka*, viz. the *Dhammapada* and the *Jātaka* of the *Khuddakanikāya*. Of the *Jātaka*, he selected the most popular ten stories which formed the last anterior lives of the Buddha.[3] As for the *Vinayapiṭaka* he decided to give the whole set of five as the phrase *Wineñ tac pum*—one heap of *Vinaya* implies. Lastly he gave the first book of the seven of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, i.e. the *Dhammasaṅgani.*

Some donors, considered the *Abhidhamma* works to be the most important. In A.D. 1273 a donor named *Ṅā Lat* gave only a book of the *Jātaka* but all the seven of the *Abhidhamma*.[4] We may also include here some donors who gave only a volume of the *piṭaka*[5] or gave as much as twentysix volumes but would not bother to name them.[6] So far we have discussed *tryā* in terms of *piṭaka* and we come to the conclusion that the monasteries of our period must have had libraries with a fairly complete set of *piṭaka* and that the monk were able to find donors who would supply them with the more popular or important texts of the religious books so that their libraries would remain always complete with even some extra numbers of those texts in general use. This leads to the question as to who were the people who used these libraries.

We have shown already that people who could afford the exorbitant price of a set of *piṭaka* might have their own libraries, but most of the libraries were attached to the monasteries and therefore the monks formed the majority of people who used them. Even among the monks, there was a special group who devoted their time to *pariyatti*[7]

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1. Pl. 372^{42} (Note the peculiar spelling *Piytakata*)
2. Unlike the western scholars who begin with the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Childers: *Dic. of P. Lang:* p. 507) Burmans count the three *piṭaka* as *Sut Winañ: Abhidhammā* i.e. *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* and therefore the first book the *Suttantapiṭaka* becomes the very first book of the *piṭaka.*
3. In Burma, the ten *Jātaka* always mean the last ten stories of the 547.
4. Pl. 242^{27}
5. Pl. 303^{2} (*nidān ja le tac klâm*—one volume of *Nidānajātaka*) and also Pl. 208^{19} where the donor gave only one volume of the *jātaka.* In Pl. 161b^{5} a rich lady *Uin Ñuiṅ Saṅ* gave only the first three books of the *piṭaka.*
6. Pl. 308^{24}
7. Pl. 275.^{20} Old Mon. I, G$^{16-17}$

—learning—and were called *cāsaṅ*[1] – students – and some monasteries which were devoted to learning were called *cāsaṅ tuik*[2] or *cāsaṅ kloṅ*[3] – educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging[4] to the students and some institutes had as few as two students[5] while some had as many as twenty big buildings within a compound serving as hostels for them.[6] These students used *piy*[7]–(*corypha elata*) umbrella palm leaves or *thanrwak*[8]– (*borassus flabellifer*) palmyra palm leaves and stylus for their writing material with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished *piy* with *klam*[9] – wooden boards – usually of *Lakpaṁ*[10] – *bombax malabaricum* and stored them up in *talā*[11]– cases – made of wood or in *cātuik*[12] – cabinets – which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as 215 ticals of silver. Sometimes they used *paiabuit*[13] – a single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book – to be written with *kaṁkuchān*[13]– (steatite) soapstone pencil – kept a in *kaṁkūtaṁkleñ*[13] – cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For daily use, they had *mliyphlu*[14] – chalk, and *saṅphun*[14] – blackboard.

After building the library, the donor's next concern was to provide it with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building, preservation[15] of the manuscripts and new acquisitions to the library would be possible. Such works of merit were known as *tryā wat*[16]—duties towards the Law. To fulfil these purposes the donor dedicated lands,[17] slaves[18] (sometimes including scribes)[19], elephants[20], palmyra–palms[21] and sesamum[22] (to extract oil for lighting) to the Law. The duties towards the Law included also the offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order. For example, in A.D. 1278 the

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1. Pl. 85[25], Pl. 143a[26], Pl.144[26],Pl.195b[8], Pl.206,[1] Pl. 365a[4]
2. Pl. 138[25], Pl. 205[5], Pl. 271[57]
3. Pl. 105a[12], Pl. 152[6], Pl. 290[15]
4. Pl. 85[25], Pl. 138[25], Pl. 195b[8], Pl. 203[20]
5. Pl. 195b[8]
6. Pl. 152[6]
7. Pl. 235[58], Pl. 296[25]
8. Pl. 417[6]
9. Pl. Pl.208[19], Pl. 235[59], Pl. 242[27], Pl. 303[2], Pl. 372[42], Pl.417[6]
10. Pl. 416[6].
11. Pl. 234[9], Pl.235[58], Pl.247[10]
12. Pl. 164[41], Pl.205[4]
13. Pl. 310b[50–2]
14. Pl. 310b[27–9]
15. Pl. 42[22], Pl. 365a[5]
16. Pl. 42[28], Pl. 202[5], Pl. 276b[7], Pl. 293[18], Pl. 365a[4], Pl. 380[28]
17. Pl. 23[35], Pl. 42[22,28], Pl. 50[1], Pl. 85[24], Pl. 162[15], Pl. 182b[15,26], Pl. 194[19], Pl. 205[10,11,12], Pl. 222a[5,9,18,20], Pl. 242[18,20], Pl. 248[5], Pl. 265[28], Pl. 285[11], Pl. 313a[8], Pl. 365a[2,5], Pl. 371b[9], Pl. 394[8], Pl. 396b[4], Pl. 571b[7]
18. Pl. 42[28], Pl. 122a[6,15], Pl. 152[26], Pl. 182b[1,15], Pl. 190a[8], Pl. 194[19], Pl. 208[17], Pl. 229[19], Pl. 248[5,5], Pl. 251[4], Pl. 262[15]
19. Pl. 42[28]
20. Pl. 182[15]
21. Pl. 202[5]
22. Pl. 393[22]

minister *Caturaṅgapaccaya* said:

> *|| apoṅ lay 3230 kywan 160 || ī y lay khwan ra so capā twaṅ kā ta niy so purhā chan ta carwat khyak 'saṅput || pitakat ta niy so to prañ khyak saṅput || kloṅ thera cā so ta la capā 30 || aryā 20 ta niy chan ta prañ twak a prañ 20 ||*[1]
>
> The total of 3230 (*pay*) of land and 160 slaves (are dedicated). Out of the paddy received as rent from these lands, $\frac{1}{6}$ basket of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Lord, 1 *prañ* ($\frac{1}{16}$ of the basket) of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Law, 30 (baskets) of paddy are (to be set apart) every month for the chief monk of the monastery to eat and 20 *prañ* of rice at 1 *prañ* for each monk are (to be cooked) daily for 20 monks.

Another donor after dedicating 8073 *pay* of land said:

> *|| ī lay nhuik ra ap so capā twaṅ kā cetī saṁput ta niy chan 1 prañ piṭakat ta niy chan 3 tuṁ purhā ryap saṅput ta niy chan 1 tuṁ purhā tanthim saṅput ta niy chan 1 tuṁ ṅā smī plu so kū 4 myaknhā so saṅput ta niy chan 4 tuṁ taṅ ciy sate*/[2]
>
> From the (yearly) produce of paddy from these lands, 1 *prañ* of rice (is to be cooked) daily as almsfood for the *cetiya*, 3 *tuṁ* of rice daily for the *piṭaka*, 1 *tuṁ* of rice daily as almsfood for the standing Buddha, 1 *tuṁ* of rice daily as almsfood for the recumbent Buddha, 4 *tuṁ* of rice daily as almsfood for the four sided hollow pagoda built by my daughter are to be offered.

Thus apart from this rite of offering daily food to the Law, the medieval libraries of Burma had adequate staffs and funds as its modern counterparts. But the nature of the collection was mainly religious, and a complete set of the *tipiṭaka* together with commentaries would be available there and perhaps even spare copies of some popular texts. Naturally, the majority of the readers were young monks whose ambition was to learn by heart the whole of the "three heaps of the *tryā*" with some of the *ṭikā* and *aṭṭhakathā* of the texts.

Besides meaning *tipiṭaka*, *tryā* also means the preachings of the monks who try to explain some part of the teachings of *Gotama* to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as *tryā*[3] and to listen to it would be termed *tryā nā*[4] and a sort of donation called *tryā chu*[5] is given to the preacher by way of recompense for his pains. It is interesting to note here that the donations vary from areca-nuts[6] and loin-cloths[7] to paddy[8] and paddyfields[9]. Usually there was a weekly sermon on every *sataṅ*[10]—sabbath day—during the *wā*[11]—lent. In some monasteries preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e. once in the

1. Pl. 289[17]
2. Pl. 393[20]
3. Pl. 271[2]
4. Pl. 17[3,5,9], Pl. 22[4,5,7], Pl. 27[15], (Pl. 53[18]), Pl. 67[11], Pl. 370[16,16,17], Pl. 392[1]
5. Pl. 36[25], Pl. 42[21-2], Pl. 138[27], Pl. 275[22], Pl. 289[19], Pl. 393[25], Pl. 396a[27]
6. Pl. 32[25]
7. Pl. 275[22], Pl. 393[25]
8. Pl. 138[27], Pl. 289[19]
9. Pl. 42[21-2], Pl. 396a[27]
10. & 11. Pl. 36[25], Pl. 138[27], Pl. 275[22], Pl. 289[19]

morning and again at night.[1] Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the *dhammasā*[2] or *tryā īm*[3]—or *tryā kloṅ*[4]—hall of the Law-where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall, a special seat called *tryā panlaṅ*[5]—sometimes gilded, with a golden umbrella and canopy[6] above—was made for the preacher. From this seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as *Dhammacakka*[7]—the wheel of law, *Paṭiccasamuppāda*[8]—the working of cause and effect, *Rathavinīta Sutta*[9]—the seven acts of purity and *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*[10]—the four methods of meditation. The listeners thus became well acquainted with the methods of obtaining the *paṭisambhidā*[11]—analytical knowledge, and the four *saccā*[12]—truths—that would ultimately result in their becoming *araha*[13] when *Maitreya*[14] becomes Buddha or in other words in attaining *aklwat tryā*[15]—the knowledge that would help one to achieve *nirvana*. In present day Burma, stories from the *Jātaka* are usually quoted by the preacher as illustration and these tales which are quite interesting, attract a considerable portion of the audience to the *dhammasā*. It is not unlikely that some old Burmans were also attracted to the *dhammasā* in the same way. The *Jātaka* are full of moral lessons and scenes from them were painted on the walls of some buildings[16] with a dual purpose, viz. to decorate the hall and to convey some information on Buddhism in pictures. There are two interesting names in connection with these teachings. They are *Mālañ* and *Pisamantra* and in an inscription of A.D. 1201 they appear as:

> *// Sakarac 563 // Mruikkasor nhac // Saṅkrī Ñoṅ Up phun mū so Tankho la chan 14 rek Tannhāṅkunuy niy Mālañ nā e, // lapraṅ Tannhāṅlā niy, kā Pisamantra nā e, // la chut 1 rek Aṅkā niy kā Dhammacakkra nā e, //*[17]
>
> In A.D. 1201 *Saṅkri Ñoṅ Up* did the following meritorious deeds. On Sunday 19 March[18] *Mālañ* (story) was heard; on Monday 20 March the *Pisamantra* (story); and on Tuesday 21 March the *Dhammacakkra*.

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1. Pl. 275[22]
2. Pl. 75[19], Pl. 102[8], Pl. 105a[8], Pl. 152[5], Pl. 185[4], Pl. 234[10], Pl. 303[5], Pl. 366[18], Pl. 575[8], Pl. 602a[2]
3. Pl. 152[5], Pl. 164[7]
4. Pl. 68[5]
5. Pl. 105a[9], Pl. 205[4], Pl. 371a[13]
6. Pl. 73[19]
7. Belongs to the *Samyuttanikāya* of the *Suttantapiṭaka* and supposed to be the first preaching of all the Buddhas. Pl. 6[6], Pl. 22[7], Pl. 202[25], Pl. 209[15], Pl. 249[14]
8. Pl. 6[7]
9. Twentyfourth *sutta* of the *Mijjhimanikāya*. Pl. 396b[1]
10. Tenth *sutta* of the *Mijjhimanikāya*. Pl. 53[18]
11. Pl. 197[12]
12. Pl. 390[5], Pl. 413[3]
13. *Arahattaphuil* (*Arahattaphalaṭṭha*) Pl. 235[21]. Pl. 247[26], *Rahantā* (*Araha*) Pl. 10b[51], Pl. 23[11], Pl. 194b[49], Pl. 144[54], Pl. 149[16], Pl. 197[15], Pl. 206[6], Pl. 209[15], Pl. 233[10], Pl. 239[29], Pl. 240[12], Pl. 246[15], Pl. 249[15], Pl. 253b[10], Pl. 263[11], Pl. 299[19], Pl. 422b[12], Pl. 579[16]
14. Pl. 2[32], Pl. 8a[5], Pl. 10b[50], Pl. 14[6], Pl. 23[11], Pl. 44b[18], Pl. 94b[50], Pl. 122a[15], Pl. 152[55], Pl. 164[3], Pl. 182a[28], Pl. 197[11], Pl. 202[24], Pl. 206[6], Pl. 216[14], Pl. 233[15], Pl. 249[9,15,25], Pl. 275[11,13], Pl. 283[23], Pl. 293[4], Pl. 299[19], Pl. 331b[12], Pl. 334a[15], Pl. 364[59], Pl. 366[11], Pl. 384[8], Pl. 558a[7], Pl. 572a[15]
15. (Pl. 202[25]), Pl. 216[15], Pl. 235[21], Pl. 247[26]
16. Pl. 105a[6], Pl. 248[18]
17. Pl. 22[1-7] Pl. 308[25] has *Pisamantarā*
18. According to A. Irwin: "Elements of Burmese Calendar", *IA*, Nov. 1910, p. 303, 19 March 1201 is Monday.

Mālañ[1] according to Professor Pe Maung Tin is.

> *Māleyya*, now known as Shin Māle, a Sinhalese *thera* whose conversation with the coming Buddha Metteyya is told in the *Rasavāhinī*[2], a non-canonical Pali work of Ceylon. *Metteyya* tells *Māleyya* among other things that if any one wishes to meet him when he becomes the Buddha, "he must make offerings to the present Buddha of a thousand rice-alms, a thousand sweet and sour fruits, a thousand oil-lights, water flowers, land flowers, banners, a thousand umbrellas, together with betel to chew and pickled tea-leaves appropriately conveyed in *hlawga* boats and listen to the law of Vessantara."[3]

Pīsamantra or *Pisamantarā* is perhaps *Vessantara* (Jataka No. 547) because a later Burmese legend quoted above made an allusion to *Vessantara* in connection with *Malaya-Mahādeva Thera*. Although the inscription of A.D. 1201 quoted above[4] mentions that the story-telling of *Mālañ* and *Pīsamantrā* falls around the full moon day of *Tankū*: (19-21 March 1201), another reference[5] connects the listening of *Pisamantarā* with the *Kaṭhina*[6] ceremony. In present day Burma *kaṭhna* is generally held on any day between the first day of the waning moon in *Sitan:kywat* to the full moon day of *Tanchonmun:* (October–November). But most popularly it is held on the last day, i.e. the full moon day of *Tanchonmun:* and perhaps not incidentally *Shyañ Mālai Pwai:* also falls on that day too.[7]

As part of *tryā* we should also deal with *paritta*. The old Burman used *parit-krī:* (*Mahāparittam*) which is a small collection of texts gathered from the *Suttantapiṭaka* to ward off "various evils physical and moral"[8], as the modern Burmans do to-day. In A.D.1102 the *Mahāthera Arahan* and 4108 *bhikkhu* recited *paritta* in and around the new palace built by

1. *Malaya Mahādeva Thera. DPPN*, II, pp. 450-2
2. A collection of 103 stories in Sinhalese by *Raṭṭhapāla*, revised and translated into Pali in about the early part of the 14th century be *Vedeha* (*DPPN*, II, p. 718) and then translated (date unknown) into Burmese by *Vajirapabhāsā*. The Burmese version appears under the name *Madhurarasavāhinī Vatthu* (Rangoon, Hamsāwati Press, 1927) and the story of *Māliya Thera* appears in pp. 503-52 and his dialogue with *Metteyya* is given in pp. 550-1. *Mahāvaṁsa* (tr. by W. Geiger, Colombo, Government Publication, 1950) has also references to him (xxxii, 30 and 49, pp. 222-4). *Mahāwañ* (tr. by *Kyī:sai Le:thap Charātoau*, Rangoon, Suddhammawati Press, 1953) adds notes about him on pp. 320, 392 and 397.
3. *JBRS*, XXVI, I, p. 59 (*BRSFAP*, II, p. 430). The instructions by *Maitreya* to offer 1000 lights, etc., seems to be a Burmese modification and Professor Pe Maung Tin is quoting here a translation made from a palm-leaf MS (No. 1450 Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, now in the National Library, No. 1329) called *Shyañ Mālai Watthu*. (Two other MSS under the same title at the National Library are Nos. 1330 & 1331.) The story was versified in 1804 by *Moñ Nui*: and part of this *Shyañ Mālai Prui*, appears in Kyoañ Thwan: *Mranmācā Ñwan, poñ: Kyam*: II, *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, Rangoon, Government Publication, 1927, pp. 328–9. The National Library, Rangoon, has a copy of the *Shyañ Mālai Prui*, (No. 2038) but unfortunately the MS is not complete. (See also *JBRS*, X, pp. 130 and 145; U: Tañ *Kabyābandasāra Kyam*: Rangoon Amyui:sā Press, p. 85, No. 128; Muiñ:Khuiñ Mrui,cā: *Piṭakat Samuiñ:*, Rangoon, Hamsāwati Press, 1959, p. 251, No. 1816). The story of 1000 lights on a *lhoaukā*: is repeated in U: Sin: *Porāṇadīpanī Kyam*:, II, Rangnon, Mranmāwati Press, 1913, pp. 330-43.
4. Pl. 22[5]
5. Pl. 308[25]
6. Pl. 23[2], Pl. 99[2], Pl. 117b[7], Pl. 163[17], Pl. 234[1], Pl. 272[12], Pl. 274[7], Pl. 308[25], Pl. 372[36]
7. U: Sin: *Porāṇadīpanī Kyam:* II, p. 343
8. M.H. Bode: *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 3

Thī luiṅ Maṅ.[1] In A.D. 1190 *Siṅghasūra*, minister of *Cañsū* II, built a hollow pagoda. When the relics were enshrined in that pagoda, eight monks came and recited the *paritta*.[2] Princess *Acaw Lat*, daughter of King *Narasiṅghā Uccanā*, on a similar occasion in A.D. 1261 had seven *bhikkhu* and one *bhikkhunī* to recite the *paritta*.[3] There are eleven selections in the modern *parit krī*:[4] and although nothing is known except the fact that *paritta* was used, it may safely be assumed that these eleven were also in vogue then.

Tryā[5] also means civil and criminal law. The law court at the capital was probably known as *tryā kwan sāyā*[6]– the Pleasant Hall of Justice. Perhaps every large village and town had law courts called *buiḥ tryā*[7]. The court of appeal was known as *ataṁ tryā*.[8] One of the criminal courts was the *khuiw tryā*[9] – the court for petty theft cases. We have quite a number of inscriptions[10] mentioning law suits especially disputes on ownership of land[11] and slaves.[12] Sometimes, complaints were made by the clergy against the king for the confiscation of their lands by royal order.[13] In such cases, a royal commission was specially appointed to deal with it and it is interesting to note that the commission always found the king guilty. The monks occasionally quarrelled among themselves for the ownership of land[14] but usually it was the monk versus the descendants of the donor who claimed that part of the monastic land was their inheritance. In A.D. 1259 *Ṅā Mwan* and son took a certain portion of land belonging to the monastery built by *Ṅā Lap Saṅ* where *Gunagambhi* had been the chief monk for over three years. Originally the land belonged to *Ṅā Caṅ Kray Saṅ* who gave it to the monastery during the reign of King *Nātoṅmyā* (1211–? 1231). Now *Tarukpliy* was king, and thus five kings had passed away; and during all that time the monostery enjoyed the produce of the land. Then suddenly:[15]

> ...*kok si phyak ruy lu ca lat sate hu piy e, // Ṅā Mwan kā ṅā phuiw Ṅā Caṅ Kray Saṅ, may, prī kā saṅkhā ta yok tañ lhyaṅ ma cā phū hu piy, e, // thuiw rhaw saṅphama nhac yok cat lat so te*[16] ...

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1. Old Mon IX A[14,19,21,26,39,46,46], C[7], D[14], G[35,36,40,42,42,44,45,48]
2. Pl. 10a[7]
3. Pl. 200[12,14] Another mention of *paritta* appears in Pl. 266a[11] but unfortunately a large portion of the inscription is illegible.
4. The eleven are: 1. *Maṅgalasutta*, 2. *Ratanasutta*, 3. *Mettasutta*, 4. *Khandhasutta*, 5. *Morasutta*, 6. *Vattasutta*, 7. *Dhajaggasutta*, 8. *Aṭhānāthiyasutta*, 9. *Aṅgulimālasutta*, 10. *Bojjhaṅgasuta* and 11. *Pubbaṇhasutta*
5. See above pp. 42 & 44–6
6. Pl. 54[7], Pl. 371b[8]
7. Pl. 79b[19,27]
8. Pl. 79b[17,27,35]
9. Pl. 141a[14,14]
10. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 90, Pl. 141a, Pl. 162, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b, Pl. 193, Pl. 231b, Pl. 272, Pl. 273 Pl. 331a, Pl. 371b, Pl. 381, Pl. 395, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560, Pl. 574b
11. Pl. 54, Pl. 90, Pl. 141, etc.
12. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b
13. Pl. 90, Pl. 231b, Pl. 296
14. Pl. 54, Pl. 371b
15. Pl. 193, Pl. 381, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560f
16. Pl. 193[9–12]

> ...they destroyed the crop and (took possession of the land.) So says (*Guṇagambhi*). *Ṅā Mwan* (replied that) from the time his grandfather *Ṅā Caṅ Kray Saṅ* passed away, not even a single monk has been known to enjoy (the produce of this land). Then the two judges began their investigation ...

The witnesses were summoned. They probably lived in the same village where the disputing parties also lived. *Ṅā Rok Ū*, the *lawkā sukri*—coxswain of the royal barge at *Takoṅ* and *Paccarā* representing the *rwā saññ krī ṅay*—villagers old and young, testified that the land was reputed to be monastery property. *Kaṅkā*, another witness, probably the oldest man in the locality confirmed the above statement. According to him, from the reign of King *Nātoṅmyā* until then which was more than twenty five years, only the monks had enjoyed the produce of the land. Not satisfied with a mere statement, he took an oath. We must note here that taking an oath came only after making a statement, and that only the most important witness took one. This is unlike the modern procedure. The judges decided in *Gunagambhi*'s favour. To be successful in a law suit is termed *tryā oṅ e*'[1] and to be defeated is *tryā yhuṁ e*'[2]. In criminal cases, the judges consulted the *amunwan*[3] to determine the kind of punishment suited for the crime committed. For civil cases, the guide book was the *dhammasāt*[4] but we are unable to say what sort of *dhammasattha* was used in those days. We find only one mention of *dhammasāt* in the inscriptions of the period and it is in an inscription dated A.D. 1249. It is probable that the courts used the *dhammasāt* as the Civil Code and the *amunwan* as the Criminal Code. In the course of the trial, the witnesses were asked to hold the relics of the Buddha[5] or the book of *Abhidhamma piṭaka*[6] or to take an oath before an image of the Buddha[7] swearing that they were telling nothing but the truth. After weighing all evidences, the judges pronounced their verdict which was always *cā khyup e*,[8] – recorded, and *tanchip*[1] – the seal of the court – was affixed to the

1. Pl. 74[10], (Pl. 79[5]), Pl. 117a[2,4,6,9,15], Pl. 141[5,9,12], Pl. 174[15], (Pl. 331a[11], Pl. 574b[8])

2. Pl. 174[16]

3. King *Klacwā*'s Edict against thieves. Plates 166ab, 167-9, 170, 173-4, 343 and 345ab. See above pp. 24-9

4. Pl. 174[14]. Dhammavilasa Dhammasat and Wagaru Dhammasat are believed to be the oldest works on law in Burma. Tradition attributes them to our period; early 13th century for the former and late 13th century for the later. Originally they were written in Pali and Mon respectively and translated later into Burmese. No originals are now available and therefore we are not in a position to ascertain their claim to antiquity. They codified the customary law and they would be modified and enlarged considerably in the Burmese translation. Probably the translations were made in the 16th century or later. The British Museum has a 1749 copy of the Dhammavilasa Dhammasat and Dr. Forchhammer used a 1707 copy of the Wagaru Dhammasat for his translation. (E. Forchhammer: *King Wagaru's Manu Dhammasattham* Rangoon, Government Publication, 1892) A fairly recent work on Burmese law maintains that these two are the earliest works in Burmese legal literature though it is impossible to say with certainty that they belong to the 13th century, that both were compiled within a comparatively short interval of each other; and that Dhammavilasa is slightly earlier than Wagaru. (See Shwe Baw: *Origin and Development of Burmese Legal Literature*, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London, 1955, f. 86)

5. Pl. 78b[7], Pl. 191b[11], Pl. 381[17,17,18,19,29]

6. Pl. 78b[7]

7. Pl. 231b[8]

8. Pl. 196[4], Pl. 272[20], Pl. 274[18], Pl. 279[25]

record. In cases where evidence was not available, the contestants had to undergo a trial by ordeal after having taken a corporal oath. The following extract relates a trial by ordeal (water) for the ownership of land:

> *(// Mañkalā) picañ .... tuiw nhañ, // (Yañ Sañ) sā ...... so // / kamuy thañ ... (tuiñ) sūkri Ña Lak Cway, Sañ mhok // (ryā ra) khrañ kroñ, riy ñup e // Ma(ñklāpi)cañ (lhyà)ñ oñ liy e // muiw 6 nhac cā prī mha te // Ñā Mañ Krī min lat-tuṁ e // riy ñup sā kā ryā ra khrañ te ñup e hu e // ryā ra khrañ kā ma ñup phu hu plan, ruy // ryā ra khrañ yū lat e hu krā lat e // tanchip pan lup so sañphama tuiw // acit aciy miy so // Mañkalapicañ hū e // athuiw rhaw riy ñup sā kā ryā ra khrañ kroñ, ñup so hut-tā // si so kā // tuiñ sūkri Ñā Lak Cway Sañ lhyañ si e hu min e // Yañ Sañ sā Ñā Mañ (Krī) hu e // tuiñ sūkrī Ñā Lak Cway (Sañ) ryā ra khrañ ñup sā kā ñā lhyañ si so te hu amūkwan khat ciy hu min ra kā // sañphama tuiw, le ...*[1]

> *Mañkalapicañ*[2] ... and *Yañ Sañ*'s son (contested for the ownership of a piece of land). It was in the presence of *Tuiñ Sūkrī* (Land Officer) *Ñā Lak Cway Sañ* that they underwent a water ordeal (to decide who should own) the *ryā* (dry-cultivation land). *Mañkalapicañ* won. Six *muiw* (rain) had passed that he ate (the produce) of the land. Then (*Yañ Sañ*'s son) *Ñā Mañ Krī* said: "The water ordeal was done to get the *ryā*. But the ordeal was never carried out. (Nevertheless he) took the *ryā*". He informed this to (the officers concerned). *Sañphama* (the judges) who (? fix) the 'Flower Seal' made enquiries. *Mañkalapicañ* said: "It is true that the water ordeal was done to get the *ryā*. *Ñā Lak Cway Sañ* the *Tuiñ Sūkri* knew it." (Then) *Ñā Mañ Krī*, son of *Yañ Sañ*, replied. *Nā Lak Cway Sañ* said: "I knew that the water ordeal for the possession of land was carried out. Put that on record." The Judges ...

Another inscription dated A.D. 1242 also said that a land dispute was settled by a water ordeal in the presence of three judges, viz., *Narintasū*, *Mahāsman*'s son and *Ñā Kruiw Cā*.[2] *Chañ thin* (mahout) one of the contestants won the case, but his rival raised an objection that he won by means of magic (*chiy plu cā ruy*). So the case was sent to the Criminal Court (*Khuiw Tryā*). Unfortunately we do not know the rest of the proceedings as the remaining part of the inscription is now no longer legible. Perhaps such incidents led later judges to investigate whether the contestants and their supporters had secreted charms and magic about them before the trial by ordeal began.[3] So far we have discussed *tryā* as a law suit.

Tryā was also used to signify the judges of the court.[4] But, sometimes it was prefixed or suffixed to some other word to mean a judge. For example, there are the combinations

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1. Pl. $598a^{1-22}$
2. Pl. $141a^{9,11}$
3. Acinna (Editor): *Rājāsippasattha Kyam*: Añ:rwā Mrui, Sac. Prañlum: mhanku Press, 1929, pp. 129-30
4. Pl. 74^{10}, Pl. $79b^{4,36}$, Pl. 193^{21}, Pl. 235^{11}, Pl. $598a^{11}$
5. Pl. $56b^{9}$, Pl. $78b^{22,54}$, Pl. $79a^{17,20,24,55}$, Pl. $79b^{4}$, Pl. $191b^{10}$, Pl. $381^{27,28,31,57}$, Pl. 394^{5}, Pl. $560f^{7,10}$

12.U.P.Q.144-1000-23.8.78,

tryā saṁpyaṅ,[1] *tryā saṅphama*,[2] and *tryā sūkrī*[3] where the word *tryā* is prefixed to those words which generally denote 'officer' and thus we have the law officers. We do not know how they differ from one another although it is almost sure that they dealt with law cases. With *tryā* suffixed, we have the names like *khuiw tryā*,[4] *khuiw tryā cākhi*[5] and *buih tryā*[6] meaning the judge of petty theft cases, a clerk attached to the above and junior judge respectively. It is interesting to note that there were some women judges[7] in those days. Some judges were given such titles as *Manūrājā*[8] or *Manorāja*,[9] probably because they were very good judges, as the titles suggest some connection with *Manu*, the law giver. Incidentally we must mention here three other names for judges which do not contain the word *tryā*. They are *amhu cuiw*[10] – the officer in charge of the case, *saṁphama*[11] – the judge who administer the law (*tryā chaṅ so*)[12] and *khuiw sūkrī*[13] – the judge of theft cases. This all we know about the word *tryā*.

As we have seen the word *tryā* is capable of many interpretations. It is the *Tipiṭaka*, the preaching at the hall of law, the law suit and the judge. As the *Tipiṭaka*, the old Burmans' knowledge of the *tryā* was by no means slight. Although very costly they had complete sets of *piṭaka* together with commentaries. The monasteries had well stocked libraries with ample staff, funds and fine buildings which also served as educational institutes where the youth was given free religious education. Much learning was by rote. Monastic education was considered a very important qualification for those who aspired to high offices in the civil service. As regards *tryā* in its aspect as religious teaching the monks considered it their duty to instruct their lay devotees in the ways to *nirvana*. They attempted to explain even the more difficult but important parts of Buddhist philosophy in plain words with illustrations from the *jātaka*. These discourses given in special buildings known as *dhammasā* were well attended. Sometimes there were two sessions, once in the morning and once in the evening on sabbath days during the lent. After thus receiving the method, it was the duty of the listener to practise and attain *nirvana*. *Tryā* in its legal aspects meant the law courts with *dhammasāt* and *amunwan* as civil and criminal codes respectively. Kings noted for their justice would acquire the popular name of *tryā maṅ* – the just king. Lastly, *tryā* meant judges themselves who were undaunted even at the idea of dealing out justice to the king himself if need be.

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1. Pl. $78b^{9}$, Pl. $144a^{2}$
2. Pl. 149^{14}
3. Pl. 54^{4}, Pl. $191b^{6}$, Pl. $371b^{6}$
4. Pl. $141a^{14,14}$
5. Pl. 269^{1}
6. Pl. $79b^{19,27}$
7. Pl. 174^{11}
8. Pl. $44b^{15}$, Pl. $273^{4,6}$, Pl. $331b^{7}$
9. Pl. $231b^{6}$
10. Pl. $421b^{17}$
11. Pl. 74^{15}, Pl. $79b^{27}$, Pl. $120b^{17}$, Pl. $141a^{16}$, Pl. 272^{26}
12. Pl. 74^{15}, Pl. $78b^{22,24}$, Pl. $79b^{20,23,27}$, Pl. $161b^{5}$, Pl. $174^{3,4,6,11}$, Pl. 194^{14}
13. Pl. 241^{5}

CHAPTER VII

SAṄGHĀ

SAṄGHĀ is the Pali loan word for the Order. It is interesting to note that in *ratanā sum pā*[1]—the phrase denoting three gems of the Buddha, dhamma and saṅgha, *saṅghā*[2] is the only word of which the derivation is clear as the three gems are known to the old Burmans as *purhā tryā saṅghā*. We are still very much in the dark as to the origin of the words *purhā* and *tryā*.[3] The old Mon used *saṅghā*[4] and probably the Pyu *sagha*, which are only slight variations in spelling from the Burmese *Saṅghā*. The Pali *sangha* means the assembly or the multitude but the old Burmans affixed some adjectival phrases to that word and therefore we will consider here these phrases which came together with *saṅghā* in old Burmese in order to understand what *saṅghā* really meant to them.

We very often come across the phrase *kloṅ niy so saṅghā*[6]—monks living in monasteries which is quite different from *taw mlat kri*,[7] *taw skhiṅ*[8] and *taw kloṅ saṅghā*[9]—the lords dwelling in the forest—who would be otherwise known as *Araññavāsi* or *Arañ*. *Skhiṅ saṅghā*,[10] the reverend monk, suggests that monks occupied an exalted position. They were respected by the people in much the same way as respect was shown to those belonging to the royal family or government officers who were addressed with *skhiṅ* prefixed to their names. As Prince *Rājasūra*, the great minister *Anantasūra* and King *Klacwā* were called *Skhiṅ Rājasū*, *Skhiṅ Anantasū* and *Skhiṅ Klacwā*[11] respectively, so the exalted lords of the Order were addressed *Skhiṅ Wineydhuir* (*Vinayadhara*), *Skhiṅ Mahākassapa*, etc.[12] Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name which is not infrequent, he is sure to get the honorific *skhiṅ* (e.g. *Skhiṅ Ṅā Mlat Khac*).[13] But these *skhiṅ* of the monastery were by nature quite different from those in the royal family and executive offices as they were defined as

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1. Pl. 13[5,11,15], Pl. 24[13], Pl. 25[5], Pl. 42[2,5], Pl. 43[1], Pl. 68[4], Pl. 69[5-6,10], Pl. 80[5], Pl. 84[5], Pl. 90[13], Pl. 94a[27,30,32,33,37,47], Pl. 94b[12,31], Pl. 102[7,35], Pl. 105a[36], Pl. 127a[5], Pl. 131a[2], Pl. 140a[4], Pl. 140b[5], Pl. 143a[5,8,22,29], Pl. 144[2,32], Pl. 145[4], Pl. 147a[5], Pl. 147b[4], Pl. 152[7,10,29], etc.
2. Pl. 10a[27;36], Pl. 13[5,11,14], Pl. 16[6], Pl. 17[5,10], Pl. 21[11], Pl. 22[15], Pl. 28a[18], Pl. 28b[22], Pl. 31[5,19,36], Pl. 36[14], Pl. 53[12,22], Pl. 68[4], Pl. 72[21], Pl. 94a[16,25], Pl. 99[22], Pl. 100b[18], Pl. 102[20], etc.
3. So far there has been no satisfactory answer as to the derivation of the words *pruhā* and *tryā* though some tentatively take the Sanskrit or Pali "vara" for the first and a spoonerised Sanskrit "ṛitá" for the second.
4. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, IX A[6,18,20,22,34], D[44] and G[35,42,44]
5. *Ibid.*, I, i, The Pyu face of the *Rājakumār* Inscription line 17.
6. Pl. 10a[27], Pl. 16[6], Pl. 28a[18], Pl. 132a[5], Pl. 216[4], Pl. 291[2], Pl. 599b[6]
7. Pl. 208[17]
8. Pl. 223a[8]
9. Pl. 125[16]
10. Pl. 94a[16], Pl. 265[5], Pl. 274[36], Pl. 283[18]
11. Pl. 105a[28](*Skhiṅ Rājāsu*), Pl. 79b[1](*Skhiṅ Anantasū*) and Pl. 742[5](*Skhiṅ Klacwā*)
12. Pl. 152[30](*Skhiṅ Wineydhuir*), Pl. 123[5](*Skhiṅ Mahākassapa*)
13. Pl. 385a[7]

sañkhaṁ so skhiṅ[1]—the patient lords, or *ñriṁ niy so skhiṅ*[2] —the quiet lords. *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*, the two chief disciples of *Gotama* were also known as *Skhiṅ Sāriputtrā* and *Skhiṅ Mokkalān*[3] and this shows that the people of our period considered their ecclesiastics on the same level as those of *Gotama*'s life time. This perhaps also leads them to define their monks as *purhā skhiṅ tapesā ariyā saṅghā*[4]—the noble monks, sons and disciples of the Lord Buddha or *purhā tape, sā rahan saṅghā*[5]—the worthy monks, sons and disciples of the Buddha. The word *tape*, freely translated means pupil. but if it is to be connected with the Pali *tapassin* or Sanskrit *tapasvin* it would simply be another name for an ascetic. Anyhow, *tape*, usually is coupled with *sā*—the son and to be a *tape, sā* of somebody is to be attached to that person as apprentice to undergo a training on some craft for which he is considered master[6] and it is believed that the master would teach his pupils as he would teach his own sons. In a religious sense, it means disciples. For example, a couple after dedicating five slaves to the pagoda prayed:

> *purhā skhiṅ Mittañ phlac so khā lakyā raṁ so tape, sā krī Skhiṅ Sāriputtrā ñā tuiw 2 yok phlac luiw sāte//*[7]
>
> When *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha, we two wish to become the right hand or the chief disciples as Lord *Sāriputtā* (was to *Gotama* Buddha).

It is left to the imagination as to how both a man and his wife were going to share the one and only existence of such an exalted position, but here *tape, sā krī* is clearly the *aggasāvaka* and therefore *tape, sā* would be a *sāvaka*—the disciple. The monks were also known as *ariya saṅghā*[8] and *rahan saṅghā*[9] meaning the nobles and arahants. Although all the monks were not arahants, they were taken to be on the right way to *nirvaṇa* as the arahants were *Anantasūra*, Commander-in-Chief of *Nātoṅmyā* in A.D.1223 defined *saṅghā* as:

> *sāsanā kuiw khyat ruy, stañ kyaṅ, so skhiṅ ariyā tuiw,...*[10]
>
> the noble lords, who practised self restraint for love of the Religion.

But the best descriptive phrase about the monks is given by a queen of *Tarukpliy* in A.D. 1266 as:

> *kloṅ twaṅ niy so sataṅ samādhi praññā hū so klañjū suṁ pā kuiw rhā so sataṅ caṅ so purhā tape,sā rahan saṅghā*[11]
>
> the monks (or) the arahants—the disciple of the Lord (who) live in the monastery (and are) pure in piety (and) ever seeking the three graces of self-possession and wisdom

1. Pl. 73^{30}, Pl. 225^{8}
2. Pl. $385a^{2}$
3. Pl. $6^{4,5}$
4. Pl. 249^{24}
5. Pl. 216^{5}
6. Tradition goes further than this. If the master has a beautiful daughter the ablest of the pupils gets her hand in marriage and become "son" of the master. This explains well the combination *tape sā*.
7. Pl. $558a^{7-8}$
8. Pl. 21^{15}, Pl. 162^{17}
9. Pl. 31^{19}, Pl. 216^{5}
10. Pl. 73^{21-22}
11. Pl. 216^{4-5}, See also Pl. 181^{5}

Thus *saṅghā* is synonmous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate. We have another reference which would be very useful if the information were complete. In a partly legible inscription dated A.D. 1198 a donor dedicated slaves and lands and said that some of the lands were for:

> ... *coṅ tat so saṅghā* // *talāṅ theñ tat so saṅghā* // ... *tat so saṅghā* //[1].
>
> the monks who ..., the monks who sweep the compound and the monks who ...

From what it remains in the description, we find that there were monks who did some menial labour. But there can be no harm for a monk to sweep the compound of the monastery as keeping a religious place clean and tidy is also considered an act of merit. Some suggest that *coṅtat so saṅghā* is monks playing the harp. That is not possible because even a lay disciple observing *aṭṭhaṅgika uposattha* on sabbath days is forbidden *nacca*—dancing, *gīta*—singing, and *vādita*—playing instrumental music. In another inscription we find that the donor invested the *thera*—senior monk, with three duties:

> *purhā phuiw kā thera siṁ ciy sate phurhā cut twaṅ ra rā phā ciy sate cañ pantyā kuiw te plu ciy sate* //[2]
>
> The *thera* shall take charge of (the lands) for the pagoda and do repairs at the pagoda (with) whatever he gets (from the lands) and provide *cañ* (drums) and *pantyā* (?singing).

With regard to the last duty, it probably meant that the *thera* was to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. Another inscription dated A.D. 1232 mentions that a slave was decicated to the Three Gems to learn *pantyā*.[3] It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of musical courses—they probably trained pagoda and monastery slaves in the art of singing and music. From the illustrations just shown, we have a clear impression of what the old Burmans meant by the word *saṅghā*. *Saṅghā* belonged to the respected Order of the Buddha, lived in monasteries in the village or in the forest practising piety and were well on their way to *nirvana*. Of course, there were some *saṅghā* who had to manage the monastery and see that slaves of the establishment carried out their duties properly, including musical entertainment and the teaching of music to some slaves. They would occasionally sweep the compound themselves as that was a way of acquiring merit. This is the picture gained by the study of the word *saṅghā* with its various adjectival phrases. But *saṅghā* is not the only word used by the old Burmans to describe their monkhood.

There were other words to signify monks. The old Mon sometimes shortened *saṅghā* into *saṅ*[4] or supplement *saṅ* with *arya* as *saṅ ariy*.[5] Very often they used their own

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1. Pl. 211[11-12]
2. Pl. 195a[9-10]
3. Pl. 94a[46]. See also Pl. 276b[11]
4. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, I F[43]
5. *Ibid.*, I E[9]

word *gumir*.[1] The old Burmans also used *sañ*[2] for all the monks and *saṅkrī:*[3] for senior monks and *sanlyañ*[4] for junior monks. A forest dwelling monk was mentioned once as *sañ arañ*[5] and like the old Mon, they also used the combination *sañ aryā*.[6] The word *bhun:krī:* for a monk was not in use then although a very similar one *phun sañ*[7]—the possessor of merit—was sometime used as an honorific to a monk's name. But the term *phun sañ*[8] was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to *saṅghā*, the most popular term for a monk was *aryā*[9] (*ariyā*) which originally meant noble and later was extended to include Buddhist monks. Sometimes the combination of *aryā sūtau koñ*[10] is used, suggesting that to the old Burmans, *aryā* means a holy man. Next to *aryā*, they had *rahan*[11] which is derived from *arahā*—the person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to *nirvana*.[12] But to the old Burmans the term *rahan* had no such meaning as they used *rahantā* for those who had acquired *arahattaphuil* (*arahattaphalaṭṭha*) and therefore *rahan* simply means monk and to become one is termed *rahan mū*[13]. Only adults of over twenty were ordained monks or nuns.[14] Deacons or novices were called *samaniy*[15] which is derived from the Pali *sāmaṇera*. The word *kuirañ* for a novice was not in use then and the words *syañ*[16] or *asyañ*[17] from which perhaps the word *kuirañ* is derived does not

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1. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, I C[55], E[29]
2. Pl. 40[5], Pl. 139[17], Pl. 157[10,10], Pl. 223a[8], Pl. 226[29], Pl. 241[27,28], Pl. 365c[11], Pl. 367a[8]
3. Pl. 6[8], Pl. 22[2,14], Pl. 41[15], Pl. 113[8], Pl. 157[11], Pl. 269[15], Pl. 362[22,23,25,24,24,25,25], Pl. 366[51], Pl. 373a[9], Pl. 381[56]. The Mon face of the *Rājakumār* Inscription (*Ep. Birm.* I, i,pp. 55–6) also uses this term.
4. Pl. 113[8]
5. Pl. 40[5-6]
6. Pl. 285[26]
7. Pl. 118b[5], Pl. 123[14,15], Pl. 134a[18], Pl. 134b[4], Pl. 157[9,9,9,10,26], Pl. 253b[5], Pl. 329[4]
8. Pl. 7[4,15,17,20], Pl. 8a[5], Pl. 18[5], Pl. 21[2], Pl. 42[2,4,4,15,16], Pl. 43[2], Pl. 44b[2,9,17], Pl. 51[2,11], Pl. 56a[8,8], Pl. 74[9,11], Pl. 78b[5], Pl. 79b[25], Pl. 122a[4], Pl. 128a[18], Pl. 128b[5,6], Pl. 182b[2] (*phunsañ ma*), Pl. 214b[11], Pl. 252[2], Pl. 331b[11], Pl. 335b[11], Pl. 373a[5], Pl. 377b[2], Pl. 558a[11], Pl. 559b[1], Pl. 563a[12], Pl. 573b[9], Pl. 594a[3,17], Pl. 599d[2], Pl. 602a[8,10]. Perhaps the term in the latter part of our period was used only for the monks and the modern *bhun: krī:* evolves from it.
9. Pl. 12[10], Pl. 21[13], Pl. 73[21,22], Pl. 143a[22], Pl. 198[25], Pl. 203[12,16], Pl. 206[1], Pl. 222a[11], Pl. 229[21], Pl. 242[16], Pl. 244[29,30], Pl. 246[3], Pl. 249[24], Pl. 257[59], Pl. 268[27], Pl. 270[26], Pl. 271[48], Pl. 275[29], Pl. 276b[4,7,10], Pl. 280b[11], Pl. 282[21], Pl. 285[26], Pl. 286[13,15,18], Pl. 289[18], Pl. 293[8], Pl. 295[10], Pl. 298a[5,7], Pl. 307c[6], Pl. 373b[25], Pl. 390[12], Pl. 392[56,58,59], Pl. 393[30], Pl. 395[21], Pl. 396a[34], Pl. 396b[7], Pl. 594[7]
10. Pl. 271[48]
11. Pl. 32[2], Pl. 7[9], Pl. 31[19,56], Pl. 44b[11], Pl. 147b[20], Pl. 149[16], Pl. 200[22], Pl. 211[3], Pl. 216[5], Pl. 220[9], Pl. 240[4], Pl. 256[7], Pl. 263[9,10,13], Pl. 303[4], Pl. 308[52,55,55], Pl. 331b[5], Pl. 376[4,5,5,9,11,14,14,15,17,19,22,29,30], Pl. 381[12], Pl. 600b[10]
12. The *cattāro maggā* or Four Paths are four stages of sanctification leading to *Nirvana* and they are *sotāpattimaggo*, *sakadāgāmi maggo*, *anāgāmimaggo* and *arahattamaggo*.
13. Pl. 220[9], Pl. 308[52,55], Pl. 381[12]
14. See J.F. Dickson: "Upasampadā-kammavāçā", *JRAS*, VII, 1875, pp. 1–16
15. Pl. 308[55]
16. Pl. 244[20], Pl. 246[4], Pl. 271[15,18,22,33,51], Pl. 279[16], Pl. 291[15], Pl. 296[8,10], Pl. 380[812], Pl. 388a[11,21], Pl. 392[56], Pl. 395[21], Pl. 419b[40], Pl. 423[5]
17. Pl. 368a[2], Pl. 389b[3]

mean a novice but a monk with the exception when *asyaṅ* was applied to royalty as *asyaṅ maṅkrī*:[1]—the liege lord, the great king. Monks addressed each other as *ṅā syaṅ*[2]—my lord. They were also mentioned as *pancaṅ*[3] which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit it to be connected with *pañcaṅga*, the five attributes or the burmanised *pañcaṅ*:, as the modern Burman believes.[4] Thus we find the use of *saṅ*, *saṅ ariy* and *gumir* among the old Mons for the monks and among the old Burmese, *saṅ*, *saṅkrī*, *saṅlyaṅ*, *saṅ arañ*, *saṅ aryā*, *phun sañ*, *aryā*, *rahan*, *samaniy*, *syaṅ*, *asyaṅ* and *pancaṅ*.

It will be interesting also to study the prefixes to a monks name meaning "the Reverend" etc. As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend, and Most Reverend are used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmans used such terms as *phun mlat so*[5] or *mlat so*[6] for senior monks, *mlat cwā sa*[7] or *mlat krī*[8] for the most senior monks and *mlat krī cwā*[9] or *phun mlat krī cwā*[10] for the exceptionally respected monks who were royal preceptors, etc. But such terms as *thera*[11], *saṅghā thera*[12] and *mahathera*[13] are equally popular. The old Burmans called their senior monks *chryā*[14] (*acāriya*)—the teacher. Very often a monk would be referred to as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay

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1. Pl. 24[9], Pl. 68[25]
2. Pl. 271[16]
3. Pl. 41[15], Pl. 100b[26], Pl. 113[15], Pl. 128a[14,20], Pl. 149[5,11], Pl. 202[14], Pl. 207[14], Pl. 210b[9,15], Pl. 214a[8], Pl. 218b[7], Pl. 224[17], Pl. 226[15], Pl. 232[8,8,9], Pl. 257[16,34], Pl. 268[7], Pl. 279[28], Pl. 284b[6], Pl. 307b[5,5], Pl. 308[33], Pl. 329[15], Pl. 335b[6], Pl. 367a[6], Pl. 370[34], Pl. 372[25], Pl. 373a[15,15,15], Pl. 423[30], Pl. 424[20], Pl. 578b[19], Pl. 579[6,12], Pl. 602a[15]
4. The five attributes are connected with the ordination service where the perfection of the president of the chapter (to be of ten years standing as an elder monk), the perfection of the chapter (consisting of ten monks who have been ordained before without any flaw or mistake in their ordination services), the perfection of intonation during the service on the part of the president and his ten colleagues, the same on the part of the candidate and the perfection of the candidate as to his qualifications required by the service, are necessary. The qualifications of the candidate are:
   1. He must not be suffering from such diseases as leprosy, boils, itch, asthma and epilepsy.
   2. He must be over twenty, a male human being, with full permission from parents to become a monk.
   3. He must be a free man, free from debts and from military service as well.
   4. He must have the almsbowl and robes complets with him.
5. Pl. 29[7,18], Pl. 246[17], (*phun mlassa*), Pl. 256[49], (*phun mlat*), Pl. 296[5], Pl. 365c[2], Pl. 395[8] (*phun mlassa*)
6. Pl. 84[15], Pl. 264[7,15], Pl. 366[19] (*mlasso*), Pl. 373a[14], Pl. 603b[4] (*mlassa*)
7. Pl. 261[17]; Pl. 578a[2]
8. Pl. 102[8], Pl. 203[2], Pl. 208[17] (*tawmlat kri*), Pl. 265[2,5,10,13,17,21,28,30,33,35, 37,39,40,41,41], Pl. 256[30], Pl. 266b[3,5,13,29,39], Pl. 266c[1], Pl. 268[3,27], Pl. 270[17,19,25,25], Pl. 272[8], Pl. 274[5,9,10,10], Pl. 277[2], Pl. 280b[12], Pl. 295[9], Pl. 297[5,6,8,7,8,24], Pl. 298a[2], Pl. 299[10], Pl. 392[29], Pl. 424[5,8,12,15, 16,18,26,33,34], Pl. 594[9,14,20]
9. Pl. 12[11], Pl. 215b[11], Pl. 235[40,41,41], Pl. 239[18], Pl. 271[49,51], Pl. 384[2], Pl. 419b[1], Pl. 423[31,33,33], Pl. 424[8,12,15,18,26], Pl. 428[4,18]
10. Pl. 196[2,5,8,9], Pl. 209[7], Pl. 212[34], Pl. 221[25], Pl. 244[4], Pl. 279[2,4,12,20,23,23,24,30], Pl. 423[9], Pl. 424[33]
11. Pl. 12[9], Pl. 29[8,19], Pl. 70[20], etc.
12. Pl. 22[11], Pl. 30a[9], Pl. 53[7], etc.
13. Pl. 3[1,15,24], Pl. 6[2], Pl. 10a[8], etc. Old Mon, *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, B[43,45]; III, i, IX, A[25,35,40,43,45,49], D[44] and XI[1,4]
14. Pl. 13[5], Pl. 262[6,26], Pl. 36[10], Pl. 67[11], Pl. 83[18], Pl. 85[2,11,19], Pl. 120a[20], Pl. 123[14], etc. Chryā would be used also for some people who were not monks (Pl. 205[14,14,15,15,16]). In modern times, *charyā* is seldom used for monks with the exception of *charātoau* or its shortened form *chatoau*. *Charā* today is a schoolteacher, physician, etc.

devotees. For example, the king's preceptor came to be popularly known as *man charyā*[1], and the preceptor of Queen Pearl (Queen of King *Klacwā*) as *Caw Pulay May Charyā*[2], the preceptor of a minister as *Amatkri Siriwatthanā Chiryā*[3] and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord Buddha is mentioned as *lū nat takā chiryā*[4]—the teacher of all men and *deva* or *sumlū charyā*[5]—the teacher of Men, *Deva* and *Brahma*. There is an interesting reference to a monk called *Ratanāucchi* who was known as *Nat Charyā Mlat cwā so Skhin Ratanāucchi*[6]—the Most Reverend Lord *Ratanāucchi*, the teacher of *deva*. *Punnā*[7]—brahman and *hurā*[8]—astrologer, would probably also be addressed as *chryā*. Another equally popular prefix to a monk's name is *sukhamin*[9]—the wise, although some people who were not monks were also known as *sukhamin*[10] too; perhaps they were exmonks who were still called by that name after they had left the Order. It is also possible that they were so known for their wisdom or scholarship. There were also terms such as *taw thwak*[11] (monks or nuns who were once married) as well as *lū thwak*[12] (people who were once monks and nuns). Thus terms like *mlat kri*, *thera*, *sanghāthera*, *mahāthera*, *chryā* and *sukhamin* were prefixes to the names of senior monks who were regarded by the people with deep reverence. As they were learned they gathered around them quite a following who looked upon them as great teachers.

Among the followers of a prominent monk, *cāsan*—the students, formed the most important group. They devoted their time to *pariyatti*—learning. There were other monks who devoted their time to *paṭipatti*[13]—practice. In A.D. 1243, the Queen (? of *Klacwā*) who was the sister of *Tākakri*, and King *Uccanā*'s uncle *Samantakumtham* and wife built as many as twenty monasteries encircling a hollow-pagoda, a library, a monastery and a hall of law, and dedicated three hundred *pay* of land, thirty slaves and fifty cattle for the students of the Most Reverend Vinayadhara.[14] Thus the *thera* and his pupils could devote their time to study without troubling about food and shelter. A donor built five school buildings for the

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1. Pl. 36[10], Pl. 83[18], Pl. 85[2], Pl. 139[5,24], Pl. 182a[2], Pl. 182b[21], Pl. 191a[9,9], Pl. 261[51,54], Pl. 297[24,27], Pl. 378[8,10], Pl. 581a[17]
2. Pl. 246[18], Pl. 266b[14], Pl. 384[6,19], Pl. 395[7]
3. Pl. 244[35]
4. Pl. 232[2]
5. Pl. 388b[4], Pl. 421a6, (3 *lū chryiā*)
6. Pl. 366[20]. In another case (Pl. 228b[5,7]) a monk is called *Nat thaman ra so Skhin Thampā*—Lord *Thampā*, receiver of *Deva*'s food.
7. Pl. 102[18], Pl. 117a[1], Pl. 126b[11]. Pl. 186[8], Pl. 203[7], Pl. 239[9], Pl. 262[4], Pl. 336b[7], Pl. 417[5]
8. Pl. 44b[16], Pl. 61[15], Pl. 102[18], Pl. 121b[6,6], Pl. 133[18,19], Pl. 186[8], Pl. 212[24], Pl. 263[6], Pl. 272[29], Pl. 289[4,14], Pl. 366[32], Pl. 428[11], Pl. 567a[1], Pl. 581a[17]
9. Perhaps the Tibetan *mk'yen-pa* (to know) is prefixed with *sū* (man) to mean "the man who knows". Pl. 123[15], Pl. 132a[10], Pl. 149[15], Pl. 191a[11], Pl. 238[12], Pl. 251[7], Pl. 268[8], Pl. 271[9,10], Pl. 373a[10], Pl. 381[21]
10. Pl. 162[9,11,17,27,55,57], Pl. 163[4], Pl. 186[3], Pl. 196[5], Pl. 242[25], Pl. 261[25], Pl. 272[13], Pl. 273[19] Pl. 329[12], Pl. 370[35], Pl. 574a[15]
11. Pl. 25[2], Pl. 76[21], Pl. 269[11,17]. Literally it means those who had renounced the world and seek solitude in the forest.
12. Pl. 579[18]. It means those who have gone back into the world.
13. Pl. 275[26,27]
14. Pl. 152[1-10]

students and a monastery for the *thera*, in one compound in A.D. 1236.[1] *Krāsawat* and wife in A.D. 1262, built within an enclosure wall with four gates, a hollow-pagoda, a great spired monastery, a brick monastery, a library, a *sīma*, a throne of law and eight school buildings and dedicated 652 *pay* of land and twenty slaves to the whole establishment.[2] Queen *Caw* in A.D. 1299 built a big spired monastery, a *sīma* and a school building.[3]

There were also some donors who made special provisions for the students of such establishments. A donor in A.D. 1235 said that out of the fifty *pay* he had dedicated, twenty were for the pagoda, five for the library, ten for the *thera* and fifteen for the students[4] who should exclusively enjoy the produce of these fifteen *pay* of land. Queen *Caw* (of *Narasiṅga-Uccanā*), mother of *Siṅghapati* and *Tryāphyā*, in A.D. 1241 dedicated 300 *pay* of land and 174 slaves to a monastic establishment which had ten school buildings.[5] On the death of Queen *Ratanāpuṁ* daughter of *Sariy* (20 May 1262), King *Tarukpliy* built a monastery for the Most Reverend *Mahā Kassapa* and dedicated 300 slaves and 300 *pay* of land of which fifty were for the students. As these illustrations show, the student population in those days was quite considerable and the people were well aware of the fact that these students should be encouraged and supported. They were given all the requisites of a monk so that they could devote their time to learning only.

There were also many lay devotees attached to the monasteries who were known as *upāsakā*[6] or more popularly *satań sañ*[7] who would sometimes dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the *dāyakā*[8] did. There were also people who looked after the comfort of the *thera* and they were known as *kappikā*[9] (*kappiya*). The *kloń sañ*[10] however looked after the comforts of all the inmates of the monastery. These people may have been monks at one time or perhaps were unable to become monks for some reason or other. Perhaps the *kappikā* and *kloń sañ* were the liaision officers used by the monks when dealing with the outside world. For example, in about A.D. 1248, when King *Klacwā* gave *kaṭhina* robes to monks, he also gave the Most Reverend *Mahākassapa* an elephant which was sent to a *Kantū* village on the Chindwin where it got lost. The *thera* sent his *kappikā Ṅa Myań Sań* to look for the lost elephant which was subsequently found in the hands of *Ṅa Kroń Sań* and wife who were brought to the law court by the *kappikā* to answer for the *chań khuiw*—elephant theft.[11] When monks bought land, which they often did in spite of the fact that they were frequently given acres and acres of it, such people would be used to conduct the transaction[12]. The following illustration will show us the nature of such transactions. *Saṅkramṁasū*, great grandfather of the Most

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1. Pl. 105a[12]
2. Pl. 205[5]
3. Pl. 390[15]
4. Pl. 85[25]
5. Pl. 138[25]
6. Pl. 297[20]
7. Pl. 94a[47] (*cane satań sañ*), Pl. 99[7], Pl. 208[18] (slave)
8. Pl. 44b[17], Pl. 101[2,6], Pl. 122a[14], Pl. 123[19], Pl. 197[21], Pl. 264[4], Pl. 265[5,4], Pl. 280b[5], Pl. 367b[2], Pl. 372[4,14,16,18,45], Pl. 380[16,29], Pl. 578b[8]
9. Pl. 10a[30], Pl. 163[17], Pl. 392[29] (slave)
10. Pl. 259[5], Pl. 284b[5], Pl. 290b[5], Pl. 329[15], Pl. 333[15], Pl. 365b[11,12], Pl. [illegible], Pl. 543a[23,26], Pl. 574a[5]
11. Pl. 163
12. Pl. 162 & Pl. 163

17. UPD.144.1000.23.8.78.

Reverend *Mahākassapa*, dedicated to the Religion eightynine *pay* of land at *Surokkha* in *Santoń kharuin*.[1] After the death of *Sańkramimasū*, one of his descendants called *Ña Rok Sań* took the land as if it were his inherited property. Adversity compelled him to sell it later to the *Cakraw* belonging to the frontier guard at *Chipton*—the Poison Mountain. After the death of *Ña Rok Sań* it was discovered that he had no right to sell the land and so the matter was brought before two judges—*Caturańkapuil* and *Acalapharac*. The royal register showed that the land originally was given by the king to *Sańkramimasū*, and probably the judges also believed that *Mahākassapa* had better claims on the estates of *Sańkramimasū* than *Ña Rok Sań*. *Mahākassapa* won the suit. Anyway *Mahākassapa* having compassion for his cousin *Ña Rok Sań* who had committed the grevious sin of molesting religious property and thus likely to suffer in hell, ordered *lū sukhamin*—the lay wise man, *Dhammabaṇḍā*[2] to buy the land at fifteen ticals of silver per *pay* with money from *sańghika uccā*—the fund of the monks. This happened in the year A.D. 1244[3]. In the same inscription where the above story is mentioned, there are five other cases mentioned[4] where the lay wiseman *Dhommabhaṇḍā* was ordered to buy lands with the monks' money. So far we have shown *Mahākassapa* employing only laymen in land transactions. But we also have an instance where *Mahākassapa* employed monks for the purchase of land. This occured when he bought 170 *pay* of land north of *Chumthā* great lake

> ... *phuiw khin so sū kā Syań Ūpa(kut) Syań Paññā Syań Uttamā lu kā sukrway Ña...*[5]
>
> The price was weighed by *Syań Upakut*, *Syań Paññā*, *Syań Uttamā* and the rich laymen *Ña...*

Thus, there were such people known as *upāsakā*, *satań sañ*, *dāyakā*, *kappikā* and *kloń sañ* who looked after the comfort of the monks and who carried out the business transactions of the monastery. The daily begging of food and preaching *dhamma* are about the only times that a monk usually comes into contract with the villagers.

There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery. Although most of the donors mentioned simply in their inscriptions that so many slaves had been dedicated to the Three Gems, some would state the number that were to serve the monks.[6] The total might vary from a whole village[7] to one or two slaves.[8] Sometimes, a donor would leave the monks of a particular monastery in charge of all the slaves that he dedicated,[9] perhaps giving them the right to determine how many of them should serve the monastery. The *thera* of the monastery then would have the final say in such cases as he was the head of all the monks in the monastery.[10] We have however, one exception where the donor, the *Mahāthera*

1. See map of the Eleven Villages in the Kyause District.
2. ?*Dhammabhaṇḍāgārika*, name given to Ānanda for his skill in remembering the word of the Buddha. *DPPN*, I,262
3. Pl. 162
4. Pl. 162[11],[17],[27],[37],[57]
5. Pl. 424[4]
6. Pl. 73[30-5], Pl. 114a[7-9], Pl. 127a[5], Pl. 152[24-5], etc.
7. Pl. 127a[5] (*Mlacsā kloń kywan rwā*) and Pl. 215[18] (*wat khlak rwā*)
8. Pl. 208[18]
9. Pl. 112[16], (Pl. 132a[5])
10. Pl. 143a[26]

Skhiṅ Acala, the preceptor of Quean *Caw* (Queen of *Narasiṅgha-uccanā*) dedicated in A.D. 1241 one hundred *pay* of land and five slaves to the pagoda and said that after his death, only two monks—his favourite pupil *Gunanānasithi* and his nephew *Puñarāsi*, were to take charge of the lands and slaves.[1] Inscriptions also give us some idea of the duties of these monastery slaves. In A.D. 1255, minister *Mahāsman* said that the duties of the slaves were "to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and to drink; to cook the rice food; and to sweep (the compound) and remove the refuse."[2] Queen *Caw* (younger sister of Queen *Ratanāpuṁ* and Queen *Phwā Caw*) in about A.D. 1301 mentioned the slaves of the monastery were:

> *kloṅ nhuik lup kluy so capā thoṅ riy khap thaṅ khuy tanlaṅ mrak so kywan tuiw*[3]
>
> those slaves who serve the monastery by pounding the paddy, fetching water, chopping firewood and sweeping the compound.

As most of the donors gave away land, cattle and slaves[4], it is probable that most of the slaves, including those given to the monasteries were used largely as farm labourers either to look after the crop or cattle or both. Some slaves were alloted to tend the *saṅthika* (*sanghika*) *nwā*[5]—cattle of the monks, and the *nuiw ñhat nwā ma*[6]—milch cow, so that

> *sañkhaṁ so skhiṅ tuiw ... nuiw sac nuiw thaṁm ryak tak thawpiy thawpat arasā ṅā pā cā cim so ṅhā*[7]
>
> the patient lords.(of the monastery) may enjoy the five delicacies of fresh milk, sour milk, butter milk, unclarified butter and clarified butter.[8]

The slaves of the monasteries, were sometimes so numerous that they alone formed a separate village. When only a few dozen slaves were attached to a monastery they might have had their own quarters within the monastery compound. Usually, the monks took charge of all the slaves dedicated to the Three Gems. Musical entertainment was one of their major services. Their other duties were to fetch water, chop firewood, cook food and clean the premises. A large portion of their number would be detailed to tend the crops and cattle as the monastery also owned lands and cattle. The milch cow seems to be a prized possession of the monastery as the monks enjoyed all kinds of dairy produce and therefore some slaves were turned into diarymen. This is all we know about the slaves of the monastery.

We shall now turn our attention to the lands of the monastery. As in the case of the slaves, the donors usually mentioned how much of the land dedicated to the Three Gems was for the monastery[9] and some went even further and said that a certain portion was for the *thera*[10], another for *saṅghā liymyaknhā*[11]—the monks from four directions, and the rest

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1. Pl. 139
2. Pl. 186^{27-8}. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p.61.
3. Pl. 393^{32-5}
4. Pl. $20^{1,3,6,7,8,10}$, Pl. 34^{4}, Pl. $83^{6,7}$, Pl. 91^{14}; etc.
5. Pl. 202^{22}. "Peaceful cow"—*JBRS*, XXX, i, p.331, n.112; *BRSFAP*, II, p. 370, n. 112
6. Pl. $134a^{4}$. See also Pl. 262^{25}.
7. Pl. 235^{9}
8. See *JBRS*, XXX, i, p.291(*BRSFAP*, II, 331).
9. Pl. 42^{21}, Pl. 50^{2}, Pl. $105a^{50}$, Pl. 164^{12}, Pl. $182b^{26}$, Pl. 205^{20}, Pl. 217^{10}, Pl. 241^{9}, Pl. $396b^{7}$
10. Pl. 12^{9}, Pl. 85^{25}, Pl. $105a^{54}$, Pl. $140b^{9}$, Pl. $203^{11,12}$, Pl. 242^{14}, Pl. 286^{18}, Pl. $396^{4,6}$
11. Pl. 162^{10}. See also Pl. 12^{10}, Pl. 25^{34}, Pl. 41^{15}, Pl. $94a^{18}$, Pl. $105a^{50}$, Pl. 140^{9}, Pl. $203^{12,17}$, Pl. 205^{21}, Pl. $222a^{20}$, Pl. 242^{15}, Pl. 286^{18}, Pl. $396b^{7}$

for the *cāsaṅ*—students.[1] We also have many instances where monks bought lands[2] for themselves.

These lands were purchased with the money received from their devotees[3] and in some cases they appointed an agent to do the business transaction[4] though we find in one instance that monks themselves were weighing the silver to pay for a land bought. Anyhow, it seems that agents were usually asked to carry out such transactions. Perhaps they did not wish to handle money themselves[5] or they knew that they were not shrewd enough for such business which often led to disputes and law suits. For example, in A.D.1277, one thousand *pay* of land, probably near Tabayin were bought for the monastery at the price of one thousand ticals of silver.[6] The handing over of the land was delayed for nearly four years because of disputes. In the end, when possession of the land was obtained the monastery found that it had spent 1830¾ ticals of silver and 53½ viss of copper. Monastery lands were usually free from any form of taxation. When King *Tarukpliy* was informed that village headmen had taxed the lands belonging to the *mahāthera Samantabhadrā* in A.D. 1260 by mistake he sent his chief minister *Mahāsman* to stop the headmen and declared that the lands were free from taxation then and for ever afterwards.[7] In connection with these monastic lands, we have instances where disputes over ownership arose between monks and kings or between monks and the laity or even among themselves.

A few instances of disputes were as follows. In A.D. 1235 King *Klacwā* and the monks disagreed as to the ownership of certain lands in the possession of the forest monastery of *Jeyyapwat*.[8] Again in A.D. 1245, King *Klacwā* was doubtful as to the ownership of some pagoda land under the trust of three senior monks.[9] In A.D. 1255, King *Uccanā* or *Talapyaṁ Maṅ*—the king who died at Dala, confiscated all glebe lands at *Paṅklī* of Chindwin[10] which included 1500 *pay* of land belonging to the Reverend Lord *Mahāmatimāthe* of the *Kramtū Niṁ* forest monastery. In that very year, the king died at Dala—probably he and his retinue were murdered. *Panpwat sañ mliy*—grandson of the turner i.e. *Tarukpliy* succeeded him. Then, *Sariy*, father of three of his queens informed him of the unjustified act of *Uccanā* in taking the lands of *Mahāmatimāthe* at the audience given in *Kwan Prok Krī*—the Variegated Great Hall. In all these cases investigations followed and the kings having been proved wrong the land were given back to the monks. We are greatly intrigued to find two monks as *Sūkri* in A.D. 1272. They appeared as witnesses to a land dedication.

> ...*Si pā sakā rwā sukri Syaṅ Upakut mlac ok rwā sukri Syaṅ Maṅkalapañā*[11]
> ...those who know are *rwā sūkrī Syaṅ Upakut, mlac ok rwā sūkrī Syaṅ Maṅkalapañā.*

Occasionally there were disputes between monks and lay men and of this, we have two interesting cases.[12] The monks were successful in both cases. In A.D. 1315, the teacher of

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1. Pl. 85[25], Pl. 105[53], Pl. 195b[8], Pl. 203[20]
2. Pl. 162, Pl. 163, Pl. 268, Pl. 380, Pl. 395, Pl. 423, etc.
3. Pl. 162[24-7], Pl. 382[18], Pl. 424[9]
4. Pl. 162[9,11,17,27,55,57], Pl. 163[4]
5. The *dasasīlaṁ* of monks prohibits the handling of money.
6. Pl. 268, see also *JBRS*, XXX, i,pp.298-300; *BRSFAP*, II, pp. 338-40
7. Pl. 196
8. Pl. 90[14-25]
9. Pl. 213b
10. Pl. 296
11. Pl. 424[22-3]
12. Pl. 193 (A.D. 1259) and Pl. 381 (A.D. 1262)

Im Krī Sañ's monastery sued *Saṅkrī Chan* and party in a civil court for encroaching on his land.[1] *Amhu cuiw*—the judges, decided in favour of the monk. Then *Skhiṅ Dhammasiri* investigated and gave the same verdict. In spite of these judgements, *Saṅkrī Chan* and party continued encroaching on the land and so Lord *Rājasū* took up the case and he affirmed the above verdicts. Note that a monk was also included in the investigations—*Skhiṅ Dhammasiri*. He probably intervened only in cases where monks were concerned. As this episode occurred just on the fringe of our period, it may be possible to assume that in our period too in cases where monks were concerned, an elder or a committee of elders among the monks sometimes acted as arbitrators. Until the annexation of Upper Burma the ecclesiastical court also had legal authority.[2] We have, however an exception to this rule where a quarrel between two monks for land was decided in a civil court. In A.D. 1224 two *arañ* (*āraññika*)—forest dwelling monks, disputed the ownership of four *pay* of hill-side cultivation on the hill of *Turaṅ*. *Akliwhi*, *Cattaruy*, *Kaccakāpatiy* and *Kaccapakram*—four judges heard the case and gave the land to *Arañ Ñā Cuik Saṅ*.[3] Thus monks individually or severally owned lands either through donations or by purchase and their appearance in law courts—both lay and ecclesiastical to claim lands was not infrequent. As these monastic lands were free from taxation and as they were continually increasing, some of the kings undoubtedly became greatly concerned at the loss of revenue. Thus where evidence was weak they confiscated them. Unfortunately, in the three cases mentioned above, the kings had to relinquish their seizure and acknowledge defeat.

Besides slaves, cattle and land, the donors also gave the monks various articles of daily use. Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it *niccapat*[4] (*niccabhattaṁ*)—the constant rice i.e. they made it their duty that they would never fail to offer some portion of their food to the monks when they came begging for it once every day. This duty is termed *wat*[5] and *samput*, *chimī*, *kwam*, *pan*[6]—food, light, betel flower, all of which came under this heading. Very often *wat* itself is used in the sense of the Pali *vatthu*—objects of offering like almsfood, etc. Land producing food for the monastery are called *wat lay*[7] or *samput lay*.[8] We have also seen that *samput khyak kywan*[9] or *wat khyak kywan*[10] or *cā chwam nhuik lup kluy so kywan*[11]—slaves for cooking food, were dedicated to monasteries. Detailed instructions to them would be given as to how much rice and curry was to be cooked for the *thera* and monks of the monastery. Two specimens of them are given below—one from an inscription dated A.D. 1241 and another from an inscription of about the end of the 12th century.

> *// niy tuiṅ khyak so samput wat tac niy chan 3 prañ // capā twak kā chan 3 prañ // haṅ phuiw kwam phuiw khapaṅ cuṁ tac niy so capā 10 prañ // ta la so capā 18 taṅ 3 cit // tac nhac so 225 taṅ //*[12]

1. Pl. 421b[14-21]
2. During the Alaungpaya Dynasty, either the thathanabaing or a commission of eight elders had jurisdiction in cases under *Vinaya*, disputes about monasteries, gardens attached thereto, etc. See G.E. Harvey: *History of Burmā*, p. 326
3. Pl. 54 (and duplicate Pl. 371b)
4. Pl. 392[54]
5. Pl. 31[50,51], Pl. 42[28], Pl. 55b[5], Pl. 138[28,29], Pl. 245b[5], Pl. 259[15], Pl. 270[17], Pl. 285[25], Pl. 286[11], Pl. 293[18], Pl. 365a[4,4], Pl. 370[26,50], Pl. 380[1,50], Pl. 382[19], Pl. 383a[9,16,19,21], Pl. 389a[5], Pl. 390[22], Pl. 392[55,56], Pl. 393[18], Pl. 396b[4], Pl. 417[9], Pl. 419[37,42], Pl. 421b[15,21], Pl. 423[44], Pl. 594[8]
6. Pl. 73[50]
7. Pl. 31[50,51], Pl. 55b[5], Pl. 245b[5], Pl. 259[15], Pl. 370[28,50], Pl. 419[37], Pl. 421b[15,21], Pl. 423[44]
8. Pl. 6[19], Pl. 11[15], Pl. 68[11], Pl. 105a[27], Pl. 365b[9]
9. Pl. 50[22]
10. Pl. 417[9]
11. Pl. 275[28]
12. Pl. 138[28-9]

As for the daily cooked-food offering, three *prañ* of rice are cooked daily. Paddy is to be taken out of stores enough to get 3 *prañ* of rice. The cost for curry and the cost for betel, all complete, in a day is 10 *prañ* of paddy. The monthly (total) is $18\frac{3}{4}$ baskets of paddy. Yearly it is 225 baskets.

...kloṅ krī coṅ so skhiṅ saṅghā 1 yok kuiw kā 1 niy chan 1 prañ haṅ phuiw capā 2 prañ cā ciy sate ī apa 108 yok so skhiṅ aryā tuiw kuiw kā 1 niy chan 1 tuṁ haṅ phuiw capā 1 prañ cā ciy sate[1] //

As for the worshipful monk who looks after the big monastery, 1 *prañ* of rice and 2 *prañ* of paddy as the cost of curry are allowed to be consumed daily. (Each of) the remaining 108 worshipful monks may consume 1 *tuṁ* of rice and 1 *prañ* of paddy as the cost of curry daily.

Rice and curry for the reverend lords is termed *chwaṁ*.[2] Some donors invited a large number of monks to a feast[3] on the occasion of big dedications. Invitation of 100 monks was not a rare occurace.[4] Towards the end of our period the monks were served not only with rice and curry but also with *yaṁmakā aphyaw*[5]—sweet liquor made from palmyra palm juice at some of these feasts. Palmyra palms were very often dedicated to the monastery[6] or planted around it.[7] Perhaps these people supplied the *yaṁmakā aphyaw*, jaggery, fans and writing material for the monks from the leaves. The people of our period made it a daily practice to share a certain portion of their food with the monks. The rich gave cultivable lands to provide food for the monastery and also slaves with full instructions to cook it.

Next to food comes *chīmī*—oil lamps for lighting. The oil used for lighting was extracted from sesamum and a donor mentioned that 50 (measures) of sesamum yielded 20 *tanak* of oil.[7] It is probably the same donor who dedicated 750 *pay* of land under sesamum and millet and said :

/ra so nhaṁ nhañ chī kā piṭakat 3 puṁ so ta niy chīmī 3 khwak cetī ta khwak/ kloṅ ū ta khwak / kloṅ twaṅ ta khwak / phurhā ryap ta khwak / ṅā smī plu so kū 4 myaknhā so chīmi 4 khwak ṅhi ciy sate /[8]

As for sesamum and oil that (the land) produces, three cups of oil lamps are to be lit daily at the *tipiṭaka*, one cup at the *cetiya*, one cup at the porch of the monastery, one cup in the monastery, one cup at the standing Buddha and four cups of oil lamps at the four sided hollow-pagoda built by my daughter.

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1. Pl. 393^{29-30}
2. Pl. 73^{31}, Pl. 246^{4}, Pl. 274^{36}, Pl. 275^{25}, Pl. $279^{17,22,31}$, Pl. $299^{5,9}$, Pl. 393^{18}
3. Pl. 6^{8-9}, Pl. $17^{3,5,10}$, Pl. 36^{14}
4. Pl. $100a^{8}$, Pl. $582b^{10,14}$
5. Pl. 233^{14}. See also *JBRS*, XXX, i, pp. 321-322, n. 69; *BRSFAP*, II, pp. 361-2, n. 69
6. & 7. Pl. 12^{10}, Pl. 73^{7}, Pl. $136^{12,14}$, Pl. 202^{7},22, Pl. 233^{15}, Pl. $253b^{6}$, Pl. 372^{6}, etc.
7. Pl. 390^{29-30}
8. Pl. 393^{22-4}

Professor G.H. Luce remarked: "How dark their nights must be or have been!"[1] But there were also special nights when *chīmithoṅ*[2]—one thousand oil lamps were lit. As a matter of fact it was not necessary for the monks to have too much light at nights as their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the canon during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. But there were always donors to give them sesamum oil for lighting and at times even land to grow sesamum.

Next to light, a donor's duty was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one. The betel leaf was called *saṁ mlhū*[3] and a donor in A.D. 1212 mentioned that he gave the monks ten *saṁmlhu* and forty bundles of areca seeds. We are not told what type of measure that ten was. Probably it was ten viss. As for the areca seeds measure, the old Burmans used *kaḍun*[4] (*kuḍuba, kuḍava*) a measure of three fingers square and one and a half finger deep or a handful of grains. Princess *Acawkrwaṁ* in A.D. 1248 said that while building the hollow-pagoda she spent among other things 2 *kaḍun* and 1160 areca seeds and while building the spired monastery 2200 seeds. A donor gave six baskets of paddy to the monastery to cover the expenses of fruit and betel.[5] For offering food, light and betel to the pagoda throughout the year another donor gave 117 baskets of paddy and for similar offerings to the *thera* and the monks 200 and 650 baskets of paddy respectively.[6] Sometimes, betel quid was offered by the thousand,[7] probably when the donor invited a thousand monks to a feast to commemorate a big dedication. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like *kwaṁ ac*[8] and *kwaṁ khyap*[9] or *kwaṁ kap*[10]—betel boxes, *kwaṁ khyaṁ*[11]—nut cracker or cutter, *kwaṁ loṅ*[12]—betel boat and *thuṅ phū*[13]—phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Seeds of the areca palm, leaves of the betel piper vine, white shell-lime or chunam and cutch—the ingredients of making betel quids were constantly supplied together with their containers to the monastery. It suggest that chewing betel was very popular among the monks and one who did not have that habit would be a very rare exception. We find the mention of such a monk by the name of *mlat kri cwā Kwaṁmacā*[14]—the Most Reverend Don't Eat–Betel or who may have been from *Kwaṁ ma cā rwā*.[15] There

1. *JBRS.*, XXX, i, p. 293; *BRSFAP*, II, p. 333
2. Pl. 117b[7]
3. Pl. 361[9,21,25], Pl. 495b[12], (Pl. 559a[11]) Skt, *kramu*—the betel nut tree.
4. Pl. 164[55,59]. M.M.-W: *Skt.-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 289; Middle Mon *kḍoṅ*; Late Mon *kḍuiṅ*
5. Pl. 138[25]
6. Pl. 226[20-30]
7. Pl. 372[59]
8. Pl. 135b[12] Sometimes the betel boxes were made of silver (Pl. 312b[9]) or gold (Pl. 265[7]) and studded with jewels (Pl. 421b[9]).
9. Pl. 138[14]
10. Pl. 265[7]
11. Pl. 38b[15]
12. Pl. 312b[8], Pl. 421b[9]
13. Pl. 265[7]. A gold gourd-phial of chunam together with a gold betel box were given by the wife of *Caṅsaṅkhā* to the Reverend *Tāmalin* in about A.D. 1278.
14. Pl. 422b[2]
15. Pl. 75a[7]

were also villages with the names of *Kwaṁ rwā*[1] and *Kwaṁcātuik*.[2] As a matter of fact, this *kwaṁ* comes under the category of food which is one of the four necessaries of a monk.[3]

Donors of our period were always careful to provide the Order with all of the *paccañ le pā*[4] (*catupaccaya*)—four necessaries of a monk. They gave away land so that *skhiṅ saṅghā tuiw kuiw paccañ 4 pā ca so chiy wā athok apaṅ phlac cim so ṅhā*[5] – the reverend monks get the supply of four necessaries such as medicine, and they gave away slaves so that *kuiw cā paccañ 4 pā lup klwañ cim so ṅhā*[6] – serve (the monks) with the four necessaries on their behalf. Some donors considered that to provide *chiy wā*[7] – medicine, was very important although they made no specific mention of the sorts of medicine or medical treatment they used in those days. Perhaps the five standard medicine frequently mentioned in the *Vinaya*[8] were considered the best for the monks because we find the mention of *thawpiy*[9] – unclarified butter, *thawpat*[10] – clarified butter, *chī*[11] – oil, *pyā*[12] – honey and *taṅglay*[13] - molasses, in the inscriptions and the *Jātaka* plaques of our period in connection with the monks. We have references which said that certain monasteries had *thawpat ki*[14] - storehouse for clarified butter. Regarding the provision of medicines, in A.D. 1291, Queen *Caw* said:

> // *ṅā kloṅ twaṅ niy so skhiṅ tuiw sañ phyā nā so le // chiy wā // su nā nhaṅ ap so pāccañ kā ra ciy kun sate // khandhā lhyaṅ pyok so le thaṅ phuiw // lhyā phuiw // ma kroṅ kra ciy cwaṁm te //*[15]
>
> If the monks who dwell in my monastery fell ill, may they get medicine and things proper for the sick. When the body disappears (in case of death) may there be no anxiety for the cost of fire-wood and the cost of *lhyā*[16]

Incidentally, note that the monks cremated their dead and the people took care of the funeral as is still the practice in Burma today. Thus monks were well-supplied with medicines and they did not have to worry about the funeral of their fellows either.

The clothing of the monks is also one of the four necessities. *Saṅkan*[16] is the old Burmese word for the robe of a monk and it is derived from the Pali *saṅghāti* – the outer

1. Pl. 396a[36]
2. Pl. 276b[10]. Luce suggests that it was a special building for chewing betel. See *JBRS*, XXX, i, p. 312, n. 64; *BRSFAP*, *II*, p. 352, n. 64
3. The four requisites are *cīvaraṁ*—clothing, *piaṇḍapāto*—food, *senāsanaṁ*—bedding and *bhesajjaṁ*—medicine.
4. Pl. 69[10], Pl. 131a[4], Pl. 152[8], Pl. 190a[12], Pl. 205[25], Pl. 217[8], Pl. 249[25], Pl. 283[19], Pl. 291[7,11], Pl. 293[9], Pl. 307c[9], Pl. 365a[4], Pl. 390[22]
5. Pl. 390[22]
6. Pl. 152[8]
7. Pl. 96[16], Pl. 275[25], Pl. 293[9], Pl. 390[25]
8. I.B. Horner: *The Book of Discipline*, II, pp. 131-2. The five are *sappi*—clarified butter, *navanīta*—butter, *tela*—oil, *madhu*—honey and *phāṇita*—molasses.
9. & 4. Pl. 393[32-3]
10. Pl. 393[22]
11. Pl. 361[8,28]
12. *Ep.Birm.*, *II*, No. 20
13. Pl. 94a[35] (A.D. 1223), Pl. 376[34] (A.D. 1240)
14. Pl. 275[23-5]
15. Unfortunately we are unable to give the meaning of the word nor the idia of the practice.
16. Pl. 10a[13], Pl. 17[3,9], Pl. 19b[5], Pl. 21[16], Pl. 30a[5], Pl. 53[19], Pl. 117b[2], Pl. 138[13,15], Pl. 303[4], Pl. 368b[5], Pl. 390[19], Pl. 393[19,28,29,29,31], Pl. 423[11]

garment but it also means all the three robes of the monks.[1] Moreover, we find the mention of *sakkhaṁ*[2] or *khruy khaṁ* [3] as inner garments for the upper part of the body and *sanpuiṅ*[4] for the nether part. *Tuyaṅ* and *tankyat*[5] too are the monastic robes but unfortunately we are unable to identify them. Perhaps they are outer robe and inner garment respectively as Professor Pe Maung Tin suggests.[6] *Kawthā*[7] is another kind of monastic robe which we are also unable to identify. *Paṅsakū*[8] (*paṁsukū*) the dusty robe was also given to the monks. Perhaps it comes from the original theory that the dress of a Buddhist monk should be made of dirty rags taken from a cemetery or a refuse pit and pieced together. But it was never strictly enforced and there were only a few monks who insisted on using only such type of robes. Such monks came to be popularly known as *Skhiṅ Paṅsakū*.[9] As it is mentioned in the inscriptions that *paṅsakū* was given to the monks, we gather that the original idea of monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified and it may mean only an indirect giving of the robe by the donor to the monk by leaving it in the path of the monks.[10] In the month immediately after *Wā*[11]–the Lent, the monks are given *kathin*[12] robe which must be received only by a chapter of five monks. Of these only the one who is in sore need of a robe may have it. Although the time permitted for this particular type of offering is one whole month, the first day of it, i.e. the fullmoon day of Sataṅ: kywat or the last day of it, i.e. the full moon day of Tanchoṅmun: are the most popular days for such an offer. In the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of this offer once on the first day[13] and thrice on the last day[14] of the period. Sometimes various other articles of daily use were also given together with the *kathin* robe and such articles were usually hung on an artificial tree know as *pateṅsā paṅ*[15]. But the following example shows that giving a robe is not confined only to the end of the Lent.

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1. The three are *Saṅghāṭi*-outer garment, *Uttarasaṅgo*-upper garment and *Antaravāsaka*-lower garment, which are in modern Burmese called *dukut*, *kuiwat* and *saṅ: puiṅ* respectively. While using the robes, a monk is expected to bear in mind that "In wisdom I put on the robes as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun and the touch of serpents and to cover nakedness, i.e. I wear them in all humility, for use only and not for ornament or show." (*JRAS*, VII, new series, 1875, p. 7)
2. Pl. 362[25]
3. Pl. 212[14]
4. Pl. 393[19]
5. Pl. 138[13], [13], [14]
6. *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p. 61
7. Pl. 372[11]
8. Pl. 23[2], Pl. 372[56]
9. *Paṁsukūlika*-one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap. Pl. 299[4], Pl. 428[26]. See also *Hmannan* para 142; *GPC*, p. 132.
10. In modern Burma, not only a monastic robe but any object, e.g. coins, umbrellas, hats, etc., are left on highways in the dead of night so that the earliest passer-by may get them. This kind of charity is known as "throwing *paṅsakū*". If an article is specially meant for monks, it is left in or around the monastery. Even then the first finder, be he lay or monk, has the right to possess it.
11. The Lent begins after the full moon day of Wāchui (late in July) and ends on the full moon day of Sataṅ: kywat (late in October). Pl. 138 [25], [26], [27], Pl. 275[21], Pl. 289[19] (*wā sumla*); Pl. 308[54], Pl. 372[11], [12]
12. Pl. 23[2], Pl 117b [7], Pl. 308[25], Pl. 372[56]
13. Pl. 274[7]
14. Pl. 99[2], Pl. 235[1], Pl, 272[12]
15. Pl. 117b[3]

> *khrañ ṅay sañ kā khrañ waṅ ruy yan sañ kā puchuiw rak ruy wāchuiw saṅkan 1 chū wākhoṅ saṅkan 1 chū wā klwat saṅkan 1 chu skhiṅ thera kuī kap ciy sate//.../ skhiṅ 108 tuiw kā wāchuiw saṅkan 1 yok 1 chū phlac-ciy sate//*[1]
>
> Let the spinners spin the thread and the weavers weave the loincloth and give the lord *thera* one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent, one set of monastic robes in the middle of Lent and one set of monastic robes at the end of Lent...Let it come to pass that each of the 108 lords (also get) one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent.

Perhaps the donor was very generous and not content with giving *kaṭhina* robes which meant that only one monk in five may have a robe. He wanted all monks to receive a robe each. Hence he used this method. Thus the three kinds of garment which made a set of monastic robes was given to the monks whenever they were in need of it or at the end of Lent. For the few who insisted on adhering to the old idea of wearing only the rags salvaged from refuse pits, the considerate donor would leave the robe at a place quite close to his dwelling so that he might soon find a so-called discarded rag practically at his very door steps. In fact the robe is one of eight articles that monks are entitled to possess.

The eight requisites of a monk are known as *parikkharā yhac pā*[2] and usually a would be monk must bring all these eight with him to the ordination service and the orthodox view is that these eight were all that a monk may have as personal possessions. But the people of our period had vastly extended the *parikkharā* so that it even included *sanryaṅ*[3]-palanquin, *lhiy*[4]- boat, and *chaṅ*[5] - elephants, for the monks as means of transport. The following extract gives us a rough idea of such additional *parikkharā*.[6]

> *//kloṅ saṅghika watthu kā// salwaṅ 2 chu // sanryaṅ 3 chū//samphlū mwaṅ hiy, 10 thañ //... 3 thañ// atham 3 caṅ // pu chin 3 caṅ tarwaṅ 3 caṅ // mikhat 3 caṅ // kriy santhuṅ 3 caṅ// I Tha Ñāy puchuiw lhī 3 caṅ//chok 3 caṅ// i mhya so kā// kloṅ saṅghika wattu te//*[6]
>
> The articles exclusively for the monks[7] of the monastery are, two couches, three palanquins, ten very good mats, three... cloths, three porter's yokes, three axes, three spades, three flints, three copper razors, three cutters of loincloth (?scissors) of *I Tha Ñāy*, three chisels. These are the articles exclusively for the monks of the monastery.

Such articles as *myakkhat*[8]-broom, *chañ lañ*[9]-bell, *khwak tac pway*[10]-a set of dishes, *cākhwak*[11] -cup for eating, *santiy*[12]-bowl, *cāloṅ*[13]-pot cover, etc. were also included in the requisites for

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1. Pl. 393[28-31]
2. *Aṭṭha parikkharā* consists of *patto*-almsbowl, *ticīvaraṁ*—three robes, *kāyabandhanani*—girdle, *vāsi*—razor, *sūci*—needle and *parissāvanaṁ*—water strainer. Pl. 390[15], Pl. 422b[4], Pl. 423[11]
3. Pl. 253a[7], (Pl. 421b[8])
4. Pl. 235[2]
5. Pl. 423[11]
6. Pl. 373b [14-16]
7. *Saṅghika.* Pl. 113[25], Pl. 162[9, 11, 17, 57], Pl. 163[4], Pl. 202[22], Pl. 373b [14, 16], Pl. 375[2], Pl. 382[18], Pl. 398[28, 32], Pl. 424b, Pl. 559b[17]
8. Pl. 138[20]
9. Pl. 182a[11]
10. Pl. 372[26]
11. 12 & 13 Pl. 262 [22-3]

the monks. A donor gives a long list of vegetables grown in his garden donated to the monastery and he added a long list of articles (partly illegible) given to the monks. The list includes *uiw*–pots, *yap*–fan, *ñoṅcoṅ*-couch, *klokpyāṅ*-grinding stone, *puchin*-axe, *chuṃ*-mortar, *klipwe* - pestle, *riy mhut* - water dipper, *tanchoṅ*–chandelier, *laṅpan*–tray, *taṁkhwaṅ* - streamer, *īp rā* - bedding, *bratuiw*-spittoon, *karā* - jug, *chimikhwak* - oil lamp, *mliy phlu*-chalk *saṅpun* – blackboard, *parabuit* - paper folded backwards and forwards for writing, *kaṁkūchāṅ*-soapstone pencil and *kaṁkūtaṁkleñ*–cylindrical case for the soapstone pencils.[1] Of *sapit*[2] –the almsbowl, we have a record of a donor giving as many as one thousand.[3] Probably most of these bowls were earthern or lacquer ware but we also have references to those made of copper,[4] gold[5] and silver.[6] Thus *parikkhara* includes all the eight requisites of a monk plus various other things of everyday use in those days.

Another important item in the four necessaries of a monk is *senāsanaṁ*- bedding or lodging, and in its broadest sense the old Burmese took it as providing the monks with shelter from heat and cold. *Arī Caw* in A.D. 1260 said :

> *//skhiṅ aryā pū so khyaṁ so paṅpan so ṅrim ciṁ so nhā saṅ takā alay so skhiṇ thera nhaṅ akwa so aryā tuiw niy ciṁ so ṅhā kloṅ le plu e,// thuiw kulā kloṅ kā asañ araṁ thup lyok akhraṅ amuiw khapaṅ so kuiw le taṅ tay cwā so achan akray chiy thaṅ haṅsapatā tuiw phlaṅ le riy e, //rhuy kyaktaṅuiw le tap e,// athak pitan kā rhuy krā nhaṅ nhaṅ taṅ tay cwā aroṅ awā le tok pa ciy e,//*[7]

> In order to relieve the lord *ariyā* from heat, cold and fatigue (and) in order to provide (a place) to live in for the Lord *thera* who is the central person of the Order and all the monks, (I) also build a monastery. As for this *kula kloṅ* - brick monastery, all of the *asañ*–?posts, *araṁ* – railings, *thup* -crossbeams, *lyok*-pieces supporting the rafters, *akhraṅ* - rafters, and *amuiw*- roof, are painted beautifully and wonderfully with *chiythaṅ* – yellow orpiment and *haṅsapatā*–vermilion. *Kyaktaṅuiw*[8] made of gold is also fixed (? to the ceiling) The upper *pitan*-canopy, is completely (covered with) golden lotus (pattern) so that its radiant colours would shine beautifully.

What a magnificent monastery it must have been! Another queen made an equally magnificent monastery and the description of it runs as follows :

> *//sataṅ samāthi koṅ so akyaṅ nhaṅ plañ cuṁ so ariyā pukkuil kuiw rañ [illegible] pā nhuik ṅī ñwat cwā so arip sāyā so mwaṁ khoṅ ta cwaṅ so krī cwā so [illegible] le plu tāau mu e' rhu phway nhaṅ hi so athū 2 chan kray so chiy le riy e' //*[9]

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1. Pl. 310ab
2. Pl. 117b^{9}, Pl. 305^{5}
3. Pl. 372^{59}
4. Pl. 15^{8}, Pl. 182a^{20}
5. Pl. 65b^{4}, Pl. 138^{15}
6. Pl. 138^{15}
7. Pl. 194$^{14-18}$
8. See Pl. 73^{15}, Pl. 97^{15}, Pl. 194^{17}, Pl. 308^{25} and Pl. 372^{40}. See also *JBRS*, XXII, iii, 124, n.3.
9. Pl. 390$^{11-15}$

> With intention (to provide shelter) for the noble lords who are replete with good practices (of) self-restraint and self-possession, (I) build a very big, fine and high roofed monastery (so that it would give a pleasant shade agreeable in all three seasons. (I) also let it be painted with various wonderful and admirable (designs).

No doubt every *kloṅ tāyakā*[1]–donor of a monastery wanted to build such a grand one but some had to be content with building only a *sac ṅay muiw kloṅ*[2]–thatch roof monastery. Anyway, most of them endeavoured to construct *taṅ tay cwā so kloṅ*[3]–the goodly monastery, or *sāyā cwā so kloṅ*[4]–the pleasant monastery.[5] Some donors even converted their houses into monasteries.[6] King *Klacwā*'s aunt desirious to turn her house which was given by *Klacwā* into a monastery, said :

> *//mlat cwā so ṅā skhiṅ atuiw kywan kuiw plu piy so īm te sā le sā nuiw cwā e,// athuiw kywan tuiw niy so thak kā//saṅkhā niy so mlay e, hu ruy kū le plu e,// īm le kloṅ rañ e,// piy taw mū so īm thoṅ kywan lay le atuiw kywan lhū e,//ṅa krā rakā mithuy taṅ ap nuiw so saṅkhā thā laṅ hu min taw mu e//*[7]
>
> "My exalted Lord, the house you built and gave your servant is really very pleasant. But thinking that it would be excellent for monks to live there rather than for us, your servants, I built a hollow pagoda and intended (to turn) the house (into) a monastery. The household slaves and lands that you gave your servant, I dedicated". When I told this (to the King) he said: "Let my aunt place there a worthy monk."

here were also such buildings as *tawkloṅ*–forest monasteries and *kulā kloṅ*-brick monasteries, vhich we will discuss later.

Although Pagan is noted for many pagodas we find that the inscriptions of our period ontain more material on the construction of monasteries than of pagodas. Perhaps this 'as so because the people believed that to build a monastery was one of the most meritorious eeds a man could achieve as the following extracts will show. In A.D. 1273, *Saṁpyaṅ akchoṅ* built a monastery at a place called *Āmanā* and dedicated 295 *pay* of land and vo slaves to that monastery and wished that all those who supported his establishment ight also share

> *phurhā prañā phlaṅ ma puiṅ ma khrā so atuiṅ ma sī so kloṅ akluiw*[8]
>
> the merits of (building) the monastery (which are) so vast that (even) the knowledge of the Lord could not put a limit to them.

incess *Acawpatañsā*, after building a monastery for the Reverend *Anantapañā* in the same iarter of *Āmanā* also expressed her wish that the supporters of her establishment may share

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1. 23[15], Pl. 101[2], Pl, 280b[5], Pl. 578b[8]
2. Pl, 428[28]
3. Pl. 12[6], Pl. 285[5]
4. Pl. 69[10], Pl. 73[20], Pl. 220[8]
5. We must bear in mind that not all the *kloṅ* built by the old Burmans were for the Order. There were also *purhā kloṅ* (Pl. 66[21], Pl. 389b[5])-shrines and *tryā kloṅ* (Pl. 68[5], 247[10])-Hall of Law.
6. (Pl. 143a[6], [8], Pl 144[2]), Pl. 145[10], (Pl. 147a [7], [8], [9], Pl. 183a[4])
7. Pl. 181[8-9]. See *JBRS*, XXVI, iii, p. 133
8. Pl. 243[12-15]

> *phurhā nhut taw phlaṅ ma hāw nuiṅ so kloṅ akluiw*[1]
> the merits of (building) the monastery (which are so vast that) even the Lord cannot express them (in full).

However vast and inexplicable the merits were, the monks would often be requested to give *kloṅ akluiw tryā*[2]– a lecture on the merits of building a monastery, whenever a donor had finished that kind of good deed.[3] Thus, the old Burmans built monasteries or turned their houses into monasteries, in the belief that they were providing the monks with one of their four necessities and although this orginally meant just a shelter from heat and cold, their enthusiasm to acquire more and more merit naturally led them to beautify it so that it would look grand and magnificent. Perhaps the donors usually spent more on building these monasteries than they had estimated. We have evidence where a donor had to sell his horses so that he might continue building the monastery with the proceeds of the sale.[4] Perhaps one of the reasons for this enthusiasm was that they believed they were going to get an unlimited amount of merit from the act. The various types of monasteries they built and the cost of construction will be described in detail later. Incidentally, we must mention here that in an inscription dated A.D. 1232 we find mention of *cane sataṅ sañ kloṅ*[5]–the monastery of those who take sabbath on Saturday. We do not know what sort of religious belief they had and why they had fixed their sabbath on Saturdays. Even after a monastery was built, the donor felt that his duty was not over. He must maintain it.

To maintain a monastic establishment he had just founded, a donor usually dedicated lands and slaves to it. Indirectly, it meant that the monks living in the monastery could utilise them with the assumption that when the buildings needed repairs, they would look after them as well. But some donors were more explicit.[6] The wife of *Sūpharac* in A.D. 1245 left thirty *pay* of land out of 685 mainly for the purpose of repairs at her monastery.[7] Two donors in A.D. 1263 bought fifty *pay* of land and dedicated it to the monastery of *Krwaṁ Skhiṅ* saying:

> *//kloṅ nhuik niy so skhiṅ tuiw nī riy cā kra ciy sate kloṅ pyak cī so le nī ruy plu kra ciy sate// ma plu piy mukā phun ma kri asak ma rhañ ṅaray khaṁ ciy sate//*[8]
> May the monks living in the monastery in unison enjoy (the produce of the land) and in unison do the repairs when the monastery is ruined. If they neglect repairs may they not enjoy glory or long life (but) suffer the miseries of hell.

It is a rare example where the donor puts a curse on the monks if they neglect the repairs of the monastery. Another donor in A.D. 1269 dedicated slaves to the monastery and among the slaves he included three carpenters and three blacksmiths to do the repairs when the

1. Pl. 254b$^{16-17}$
2. Pl. 233^{15}
3. Probably the monks used stories from *Vimāna Vatthu* to illustrate their speech like their modern counterparts. *Vimāna Vatthu* give examples where just a word of appreciation for others' work of merit was rewarded enormously, not to speak of the benefits reaped from doing the deed oneself. A lay devotee said a word of appreciation when *Visākha* had finished building a monastery and as a result of it, after her death, she was reborn a *devī* and had "a great mansion that could travel through the sky, beautified with many pinnacles, with park, lotus-pond and the like, 16 yojanas in length and breadth and height, diffusing light for a hundred yojanas by its own radiance." (*The Minor Athologies of the Pali Canon*, Part IV, Translation by J. Kennedy & H. S. Gehman, p. 76.)
4. Pl. 270^{19}
5. Pl. 94a^{47}
6. See Pl. 262^{25}, Pl. 393^{19}, ^{52}, Pl. 395^{19}
7. Pl. 156^{19}
8. Pl. 224$^{14-16}$

monastery needed them.[1] Thus, there were some donors who thought it necessary to leave behind certain instructions to effect repairs at their buildings whenever necessary. Some went further and dedicated skilful artisans to the monastery so that they were permanently employed to look after the building. Perhaps the most effective provision for repairs was to put a curse on the monks if they neglected it. Another type of building given to the monks was called *sīmā*- the ordination hall.

Sim is the old Burmese word for *Sīma*–the ordination hall. In a Mon inscription of probably the early 12th century, a Mon *mahāthera* in Kyaukse district is mentioned as the founder of *baddhasīmā*-a permanent ordination hall[2]. But the earliest mention of it in Burmese is in an inscription dated A.D. 1212. It runs:

> *//Turaṅ toṅ thak Cawrahan sim pyāk kha rakā Moṅma Nhutchak amay/Ui, Pan Ū Saṅ cākhipuih/iy 2 krā rakā/purhā loṅ maṅ Ūcinā maṅkrī rhuy toṅ tak e, (1) nhac so krā rakā/maṅkrī plu ciy hu rakā/īy sim chok sa kā Sakarac 574/khu Kratuik nhac Namyun la chan 12 Tannhaṅkuniy niy Amruitta Sut Siṅkhā lak akhā //nam nāk ta pahui, ā chok sate/īy sim klok samuit sakā/maṅ chārryā Dhammasiri samuit sate/lup ra so kā Mittrabicañ 1 Pokpo Ramaṁ 1 Asak Lhwat 1 Pisūkā Ṅā Khyaṁ Saṅ 1//*[4]
>
> As the *sīmā* of *Cawrahan* on Mt. *Turaṅ* fell into ruin, concubine *Nhutchak* and mother *Ui*, *Pan Ū Saṅ*, the chief clerk, these two heard of it. One year after the great king *Ūcinā* (*Nātoṅmyā*) the *Boddhisattva* had ascended the golden mountain, the great king commanded (the above two) to do the repairs. The building started at the first stroke (of the clock) in the morning when the *lagna* was in Leo of the *amruiita cut* on Sunday, 13 May 1212. The person who put the stone (boundary pillars) was the Reverend *Dhammasiri*, the teacher of the king. The persons who built it were *Mittrabicañ*, *Pokpo Ramaṁ*, *Asak Lhwat* and the architect *Ṅā Khyaṁ Saṅ*.

The consecration of a *sīmā* and putting the limits to it required a ceremonial as prescribed in the second *Khandhaka* of the *Mahāvagga*, *Vinayapiṭaka*.[4] Unfortunately, nothing of this is mentioned in the inscriptions. *Sim* is also a place where the monks meet twice a month to do the *uposatha* ceremony and once a year after the Lent to do the *pavāraṇā* ceremony which is in short meetings where monks made declarations if they had committed an offence mentioned in the *Pātimokka*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1388 we have a definition of *sim* as

> *//skhiṅ saṅghā tuw āpattukat ca so aphlac phriy rā sim*[5]
>
> *Simā* where the reverend monks make absolution for such offences like *āppatti*

In so far as the inscriptions of our period inform us, we know that *sim*[6] were built for the monks though not as frequently as the monasteries and a senior monk like the king's teacher

1. Pl. 261^{7-8}, $^{24-5}$
2. *Ep. Birm. III, i*, pp. 70-3
3. Pl. 36^{1-15}
4. See I. B. Horner: *The Book of Discipline*, IV, pp. 137-8. See also Taw Sein Ko. *The Kalyāṇī Inscription*, pp. ii-iv for the modern ceremony.
5. Pl. 390^{14}
6. Pl. 36^{6}, Pl. 205^{4}, Pl. $214a^{2}$, Pl. 264^{14}, Pl. $276b^{3}$, ^{5}, Pl. $280b^{4}$, Pl. 370^{1}, Pl. 390^{14}, Pl. 579^{2} and old Mon XI^{8} (*Ep. Birm.*, III, i, pp. 70-3.)

would be called upon to put the limits to the *sim*. Land,[1] slaves[2] and palmyra palms[3] were also dedicated to the *sim* in as much the same way as they were dedicated to a pagoda or a monastery. It was also the building where monks confessed and sought absolution. Perhaps it will not be out of place here to mention other buildings that the people built for their monks in those days. When building monastaries some donors made it a point to build also a *kappiyakuṭī*[4]–storehouse attached to the monastery. It was defined as *alhū paccañ thā cim so ṅhā kappiyakuṭiy*–the storehouse for keeping the gifts received. As the monasteries owned land, cattle and toddy palms, these store houses were also used probably to store butter and jaggery. We have mentioned before that some monasteries had separate store houses for clarified butter. Some donors dug wells and made reservoirs in the monastic compound.[5] The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1223 gives a good example of it.

> *// skhīṅ ariya tuiw, riy khyaṁ sā cim, so ṅha ut-ti phway, so riy twaṅ le tū e,// ut-ti phway, so 4 thoṅ, kān le tū e,// arhiy plaṅ kā kankrī le 2 chaṅ tū e,//riy waṅ cim, so ṅhā plwan nhaṅ, talā le ataṅ atāy plu e,//riy kān apā wankyaṅ kā uyan le cuik e,//*[6]
>
> In order that the lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also dug. To the east a large tank also was dug, with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and basins also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was planted.

In the same monastic compound, some donors built *cārap*[7]–almshouses, *tanchoṅ*[8]–rest houses and *sataṅ taṅkup*[9]–sheds to be used on sabbath days for the lay devotees who frequented the monasteries. Thus we have a rough idea of what a monastic establishment contains.. There is the house for the chief monk, houses for his follower monks with lecture halls for the monk students, rest houses for the lay devotees, store houses, wells and tanks within the same compound. We will now consider the ceremonies made in connection with the dedications–the ceremony where the transfer of property from the hands of the donor into the hands of the monk was effected.

The following extract where a donor gave away a certain portion of his property to the Religion, gives a fairly good example of the period. In A.D. 1207 *Nātoṅmyā* (four years before his accession to the throne) copied a set of *Tipiṭaka*, built a monastery and dedicated 1050 palmyra palms and 10,000 *pay* of land to that monastery and the ceremony of this dedication is recorded as :

> *// ceñ kharā tī ruiy puiwpā amatryā rahan saghā nhaṅ akwa re caṅ taw khla e'// krā pā so maṅsā amat satthe sūkrwai tuiw sañ leñ anumotanā khaw pā kun e'/*[10]

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1. Pl. 70^{9}, Pl. 113^{5}, Pl. $126b^{4}$, Pl. $134a^{15, 19, 20, 24}$, Pl. $222a^{10}$, Pl. 248^{5}, Pl. $264^{2, 12}$, Pl. $265^{43, 44}$, Pl. $287a^{2, 10}$, Pl. $370^{8, 19}$, Pl. $380^{21, 22, 25, 27, 29}$, Pl. $575^{4, 4}$
2. Pl. $134b^{15}$, Pl. $190b^{5}$, Pl. 212^{16}
3. Pl. 202^{10}
4. Pl. 73^{27}, Pl. 234^{10}, Pl. 247^{12}
5, Pl. $153a^{5}$, Pl. 249^{24}, Pl. 303^{4}
6. Pl. 73^{22-5}
7. Pl. $213a^{16}$, Pl. $242^{22, 22}$, Pl. 303^{5}, Pl. 372^{41}, Pl. 428^{10}
8. Pl. 73^{25}, etc.
9. Pl. $372^{5, 40}$
10. Pl. 31^{19-21}

> The drums and the fifes are played and together with the retinue, the ministers and the venerable monks, the royal water of purity was poured. All those princes, ministers, and the rich people who heard and knew it called (aloud) the *anumodanā*.

In the case of common folk, the crowd that gathered for such an occasion would be different, that is to say there would be no courtiers but the process would be very much the same. Inscriptions often give lists of witnesses to these occasions; they always begin with the names of the monks according to seniority, then the village notables and lastly the villagers. Needless to say, the monks always must be there to receive the dedication and to recite the *paritta*[1] in order to solemnize the occasion. Pouring the water onto the ground to mark the end of dedication was the general practice and we notice one instance where the water jug used then was broken when the ceremony was over[2]. In another instance when pouring water, the donors invoked the Great Earth to witness their good act.[3] *Kaṅkasū's* wife in A.D. 1242 said:

> *mily krī Asuntariy lhyaṅ saksiy mū lat ruy alhū riy swaṅ e, //*[4]
> I poured the water of dedication calling upon the Great Earth *Asuntariy* to bear witness.

This is the only reference to *Vasundharā* in the old Burmese inscriptions that we have seen and therefore it may posssibly be said that calling upon her to bear witness as *Gotoma* did when *Māra* attacked him, is exceptional[5]. This leads us to question[2] - what did they pray for after these dedications.[6]

All the donors prayed for *nirvana* although we have observed before that only the very ambitious wanted to become Buddhas before the attainment of *nirvana*. *Nirvana* as understood by some of them is slightly different from that described in the scriptures and the monks who taught them the elements of Buddhism should be held responsible for it. *Nirvana* means annihilation and the end but some of the old Burmans took it as a place of great peace and enjoyment. The typical phrase would be "May I reach *nipbban prañ*[7]–the city of *nirvana*" or *nirvana* would be defined as *nibban mañ so ma siy prañ*[8]–the city of no death called *nirvana*. But this is not universal. There were also those who recognised *nirvana* as annihilation because they used such phrases as *rup nam khlup rā*[9] - the annihilation of body and soul; *amuik amyak raṁ mak kun ruy*[10]–the end of stupidity, anger, and greed; and *saṅsarā achuṁ*[11]–the end of *samsāra*. Perhaps, these various ideas on *nirvana* were due to the different ways that the monks preached. Some would mention *nirvana* as some form

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1. Pl. 10a[7]. Pl. 200[12-14], Pl. 266a[11]
2. Pl. 270[53]
3. Pl. 284a[12]
4. Pl. 145[9]
5. For the strange legend of the Goddess peculiar to South East Asia, see C. Duroiselle: "Wathundaye, the Earth Goddess of Burma", *ASI*, 1921-2, pp. 144-6.
6. See also G.H. Luce: "Prayers of Ancient Burma", *JBRS*, XXVI, iii, pp. 131-8
7. Pl. 12[4], Pl. 73[5], Pl. 143a[29], Pl. 184[17], Pl. 194[5], Pl. 196[22], Pl. 202[26], Pl. 206[7], Pl. 235[14], Pl. 236b[2], Pl. 275[14]
8. Pl. 202[26] Pl. 206[7]
9. Pl. 692[7]
10. Pl. 233[15]
11. Pl. 117b[5]

of prosperity such as one would enjoy in the world of men or *deva* as *lū cañcim nat cañcim nirabban cañcim*[1] – the enjoyments of mankind, the enjoyments of *devolaka* and the enjoyments of *nirvana.* To attain this very great reward, the people believed that nothing was too great to sacrifice in support of the Religion and due to these good acts there are many pagodas, monasteries and other buildings in Burma. There were many important personalities among the monks of our period which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

1. Pl. 63b2

CHAPTER VIII

SAṄGHĀ (*Continued*)

Of the important personalities among the monks of our period, the foremost is the *Mahāthera Arahan* who was reputed to have introduced the pure form of Buddhism into Upper Burma.[1] We do not know how much truth there is in the statement that he brought *Theravāda Buddhism* to Pagan nor how great was his influence over *Aniruddha,* who eventually conquered Lower Burma in A.D. 1057 simply because he wanted a few of the thirty sets of *Tipiṭaka* which *Arahan* assured him the King of Thaton had. According to the inscriptions of our period, he was the king's teacher throughout the reign of Thiluiṅ Maṅ. The great Shwezigon inscription[2] mentions that the king had a *mahāthera* as an adviser. It said:

> A Lord Mahāther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer, of the Law, King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make (his right-hand man), shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, 'Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha', thus shall King Śrī Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say.[3]

The palace inscription identifies this *mahāthera* of King Thiuiṅ Maṅ as *Arahan*[4] who had a following of 4108 monks. It is possible that this *Arahan* was the same as the Shin Arahan of the Chronicles. Through the initiative of Prince *Rājkumār*, the king made a death-bed gift[5] in about A.D. 1113 and a *mahāthera* and six other dignitaries of the Order were present to witness it.[6] If this *mahāthera* was our *Arahan* he would have been over seventy seven years old then.[7] The chronicles maintain that he died after *Cañsū* I had suppressed a rebellion at Tenasserim but unfortunately we cannot fix the date for it.[8] Anyhow it is certain

1. *Hmannan* paras. 131 & 133
2. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, Old Mon Inscription I
3. *Ibid.*, I B42-7
4. *Ibid.*, III, i, XI A 6, 25, 35, 43, 45, D44, G21, 35, 41, 43
5. A death-bed gift in modern Burma is considered void. See O.H. Mootham; *Burmese Buddhist Law* (Oxford 1939), pp. 70, 135 and Sisir Chandra Lahiri: *Principles of Modern Burmese Buddhist Law* (Rangoon, 1930), pp. 248-53.
6. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, the *R¯jakumār* inscription, Burmese text, lines 23-6
7. If we take A.D. 1056 as the year of his arrival at Pagan he would have been there for fifty seven years in A.D. 1113 and as no monk could be ordained under twenty, he was at least seventy seven years old then.
8. *Hmannan* para 141. How Dr N. Ray reaches the conclusion that *Arahan* died in about A.D. 1115 at the ripe age of eighty is a puzzle. (N. Ray: *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, p. 106). The reference he gives is no where to be found. Perhaps he takes the hint from Mr C. Duroiselle who says that in *List* 227 inscription it is mentioned that "Narapatisithu, otherwise known as Alaungsithu, who ascended the throne in 1112, urged one of his ministers to build (the Nandamaññā) temple and the monastery close by; and that he, the king, sent Shin Arahan, the Talaing apostle of Pagan to Tenasserim" to collect relics to be enshrined in the new temple. Mr C. Duroiselle comments on this as follows: "Now, Shin Arahan began his work of evengalization in 1057; supposing him to have then been, at the lowest estimate, twenty years of age, he would, at that date of accession of Alaungsithu (1112), have been already seventyfive. So his mission to Tenasserim, an arduous journey at that time, cannot have been long after that. Hence the foundation of the Nandamaññā can be placed somewhere between 1112 and 1130 at the latest, allowing the venerable monk a span of life of about ninety-five years." Unfortunately the inscription quoted is dated A.D. 1248 and it clearly mentions that the mission under *Arahan* to Tenasserim was sent soon after 1248. Narapatisithu cannot be identified with Alaungsithu (*Cañsū* I) as many kings of Pagan were mentioned by that name in inscriptions and therefore it is highly objectionable to connect the *Arahan* of this inscription with our *Arahan* because even if he lived a very long life, we cannot expect him to live for over two hundred years. Nor can we deduce from that inscription that the *Nandamaññā* was built between A.D. 1112-30 although it was found near that pagoda. Even if we venture to attach the stone to the pagoda, all we can say is that the pagoda might have been built after A.D. 1248.

that one *mahāthera* called *Arahan* was the king's teacher during the reign of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*. But we know nothing about him from the preceeding reign except for the story in the chronicles that it was he who brought the pure form of Buddhism to Pagan in *Aniruddha*'s time and that he died during *Cañsū* I's reign after that monarch had subdued the Tenasserim rebellion. According to the *Mhannan*: *Rājawaṅ*, the king appointed the elder son of *Cin:ñak Maṅ*: to succeed *Arahan* as *Sāsanāpuiṅ* – the chief of the Religion.[1] Is the office of *Sāsanāpuiṅ* of our period the same as that of the Konbaung dynasty?[2]

In order to find out whether the office of Sāsanāpuiṅ or any other office similar to it existed we must scrutinise all mention of *mahāthera*, *saṅghāthera* and *thera* in our inscriptions because there is no mention of sāsanāpuiṅ in all the available inscriptions of our period, although the *Mhannan Rājawaṅ* asserts that *Cañsū* I appointed an elder as *Sāsanāpuiṅ* to succeed *Arahan*. Undoubtedly there were *maṅchāryā*[3] or *rājaguru*[4] – the teachers of the king but to be the king's teacher does not necessarily mean that such an elder was the head of the Order as *Sāsanāpuiṅ* was understood during the Konbaung dynasty. We find that the king's teacher would sometimes be addressed as *mahāthera*,[5] *thera*[6] or *skhiṅ*[7] but in matters of discipiline among the Order, any elder well versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka* would be approached to intervene even though the king might have greatly desired that his teacher alone should have the final say. Even in the time of the Konbaung kings, some *thera* ridiculed the idea of appointing a *Sāsanāpuiṅ* or a commission of eight *Sudhammā Charātoau* to have jurisdiction in cases under *vinaya*.[8] Although the king meant well, the monks did not need a king's sanction to enforce *vinaya* among themselves as it was by consent that they kept it.[9] As mentioned above the King's teacher would be called a *mahāthera* but not all the *mahāthera* were king's teachers nor was there only one *mahāthera* or royal preceptor at a time. An old Mon inscription believed to be of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*'s reign mentions the existence of two *mahāthera*, one at Pagan and another at *Klok Sayoṅ* and the latter informed the former of his good deeds done at his place of residence.[10] In one instance the term *mahāthera* was applied to all the elders who lived in a monastery.[11] An inscription dated A.D. 1242 mentions two *mahāthera* and they were differentiated by the locality wherein they lived as *Muchuiwpuiw Mahāthi* and *Caṅlhan Mahāthi*.[12] In a list of witnesses to a dedication made by *Na Tuiṅ Paṅ*

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1. *Hmannan* para. 141 ; *GPC.* p. 119
2. See note on Primate in G.E. Harvey: *History of Burma*, p. 326 and *Burma Under British Rule*, pp. 25-9.
3. Pl. 36[10], Pl. 83[18], Pl. 85[2], Pl. 139[5, 24], Pl. 182a[2], Pl. 182b[21], Pl. 191a[9, 9], Pl. 261[51, 54], Pl 297[24], Pl. 378b[8, 10], Pl. 581a[17]
4. Pl. 3[1], Pl. 63[2], Pl. 191a[9], Pl. 245a[7], Pl. 272[15], Pl. 274[10], Pl. 279[20]. Pl. 299[6]
5. Pl. 63[2], Pl. 139[5, 24], Pl. 245a[7], Pl. 261[51, 54]
6. Pl. 297[24, 27]
7. Pl. 36[10], Pl. 83[18], Pl. 139[5, 24], Pl. 182a[2], Pl. 261[51, 54], Pl. 272[15]
8. See Ū: Sin: *Upamāsamūhagīrakkama Kyam:* I, pp. 259-74
9. At the end of the ordination service the ordinand was instructed in the rudiments of the *vinaya* by the chairman of the assembly and an *upajjhāya*—tutor, was appointed to teach him the details later.
10. *Ep. Birm*, III, i, XI
11. Pl. 19a[20]
12. Pl. 149[10]

San and wife in A.D. 1258 we find two monks who were both referred to as the king's teacher. As a general rule these lists give the names in order of importance and it is interesting to note that these two teachers of the king are preceded by a *mahāthera*. The list is as follows:

> *//krā pā sakā mlat so Mahāthī Uttamamati* 1 *yok// maṅ chryā Dhammcrāc* 1 *yok// maṅ chryā Pawaradhammarājaguru* 1 *yok// Skhiṅ Lhakanakkabraṁ Chryā* 1 *yok// Skhiṅ Ṅa Suriṁ Saṅ Chryā* 1 *yok//Bidarāc* 1 *yok//Kantasmin* 1 *yok// Sukhamuiṅ Moggalān* 1 *yok//sukrywai.Ṅa Tuiṅ Baṅ Saṅ sā Ṅa Pandit* 1 *yok// ñi Ṅa Pa Ṅay* 1 *yok//Ṅa Can Saṅ* 1 *yok //* 1 *mhya so skhiṅ takā tui, kā ariy araṁ yū ciy sate// saksiy le phlac ciy sate//*[1]
>
> Those who hear (and see this act of merit) are the Reverend *Mahāthera Uttamamati*, King's Teacher *Dhammarāc*, King's Teacher *Pawaradhammarājaguru*, Teacher of Lord *Lhakanakkabraṁ*, Teacher of Lord *Ṅa Suriṁ Saṅ*, *Bīdarac*, *Kantasmin*, *Moggalān* the Wise, *Ṅa Paṇḍit* son of *Ṅa Tuiṅ Baṅ Saṅ* the Rich, younger brother *Ṅa Pa Ṅay* and *Ṅa Can Saṅ*. May these reverend lords take care of (my dedications). May they also bear witness to (my good deeds).

It was the same with the *saṅghāthera*[2] and the *thera*[3] who were mostly heads of monasteries but they did not possess any official status as in a hierarchy. Thus, there were many *mahāthera*, *saṅghāthera*, *thera* and *rājaguru* at any one time and none of them had the same status as the Sāsanāpuiṅ in later days. We have seen above[4] that in disputes where both parties were not exclusively monks, the verdict of the lay court prevailed although a senior monk may express his view before the final judgement. But for cases which purely concerned the monks, an expert in the *Vinayapiṭaka* would be approached. A monk who is versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka* is popularly known as *Vinayadhara* or in its burmanised form as *Wineñdhuir*. There was one *Wineñdhuir* whose name appeared fairly frequently in the inscriptions of the 13th century.

It seems that the Reverend *Wineñdhuir* was the head of a great monastic establishment and had a great following. Members of the royal family and ministers were among his lay devotees. *Asaṅkhyā* the great minister of King *Nātoṅmyā* was one of them. He received from the king 700 *pay* of land as a reward for quelling a rebellion that broke out soon after the king's accession in A.D. 1211. From the 700 *pay Asaṅkhyā* gave 150 *pay* to the monastery of *Skhiṅ Wineñdhuir* in A.D. 1216.[5] This is the first mention we find of this reverend monk in the inscriptions of our period. Next he was mentioned as one of the witnesses to the dedication of 200 *pay* of land made by *Lakkhanā Lakway*, the hero of the *Takoṅ* battle in A.D. 1228.[6] A queen, probably *Phwā Jaw*, Queen of *Narasiṅgha Uccanā*, and her brother

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1. Pl. 191a8-15
2. Pl. 22[11], Pl. 30a[9], Pl. 53[7], Pl. 60a[12], Pl. 79b[9], Pl. 113[5], Pl. 121b[9], Pl. 127b[8], Pl. 271[15], [22], Pl. 280b[12], Pl. 329[4], Pl. 373c[6], Pl. 373d[5], Pl. 381[2], [2], [5], [4], [4], [8], [8], [17], [56], Pl. 563a[6], Pl. 594[7]
3. Pl. 12[9], Pl. 29[8], [19], Pl. 73[20], Pl. 85[25], Pl. 94a[14], Pl. 102[28], Pl. 105a[54], [55], Pl. 126b[5], etc.
4. Pl. 421b[18-19]
5. Pl .42[2], Pl. 190a[1], [8], [24], [25], [30]
6. Pl. 231b[5]

Samantakumtham also known as the maternal uncle of King *Uccanā*, were also devoted to the Reverend *Winendhuir*. They in A.D. 1243 made a large addition of buildings to the monastery of the reverend monk, and among these new buildings were included a library, a lecture hall and twenty *cāsaṅ kloṅ* – probably residential quarters for the students.[1] This fact alone shows us that the monastic establishment of *Skhiṅ Winendhuir* was a sort of university where hundreds of young monks flocked to learn most probably the *Vinayapiṭaka* on which he was considered an authority. In order that the monks of the establishment might get "the four necessities" with ease, the good donors gave 384 *pay* of cultivable land, 187 slaves, a garden, one hundred cattle and an elephant.[2] As a seat of learning would have required many copies of the *Tipiṭaka*, extra copies were often added to the library of his monastery. An officer *Krañ Caṅ* in A.D. 1221 gave him a copy of the *Tipiṭaka*, ten slaves for the library staff and twenty *pay* of land for the maintenance of the library.[3] The same inscription which records the above dedication also gives the names of two more donors who gave lands and slaves to his establishment. In 1234 *Ñā Ñoṅ Saṅ* gave fifty *pay* of land[4] and in 1253 *Kaṅgapikram* gave 400 *pay* of land and ten slaves.[5] Princess *Acaw Lat*, the wife of the minister *Jayyasaddhiy* and the half-sister of King *Uccanā* was also devoted to the reverend monk. In A.D. 1261 she built a hollow-pagoda and *Skhiṅ Wineñthuir* headed the list of the eight names mentioned as reciters of the *paritta* when relics were enshrined in that pagoda.[6] Four hundred and thirty five *pay* of land[7] and sixty eight slaves[8] were also dedicated. In the light of the above evidence we come to the conclusion that *Skhiṅ Winendhuir* was a much respected *thera* who devoted his time to learning and as his name implies, advocated orthodoxy, i.e., living strictly according to the rules of the *Vinaya*. He was already a famous *thera* with many devoted followers in A.D. 1216 and he was still a leading monk in A.D. 1261. In view of the fact that libraries, lecture halls and residential buildings for students were frequently added to his monastery and he was given lands and slaves for the maintenance of his establishment within this half century, we might credit him with being the leader of the orthodox group who tried to adhere strictly to the *Vinaya* and who maintained close contact with Ceylon. This leads us to consider in some detail the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines which is said to have begun in about A.D. 1180. Pagan's dealings with Ceylon is as follows.

As regards contact with *Sinkhuih*[9] or *Laṅkā*[10] (Ceylon), we will first mention all we know about it from the inscriptions of our period. The first reference made to Ceylon was in the Dhammarājika pagoda inscription which mentions that in A.D. 1197, King *Cañsū II* received four relics of the Lord Buddha from the king of *Sinkhuih* who had thirty. The king enshrined

1. Pl. 152[1-6]
2. Pl. 152[28-9]
3. Pl. 248[1-6]
4. *Ibid* [6-10]
5. *Ibid* [16-21]
6. Pl. 200[12]
7. Pl. 200[20]
8. Pl. 201a[7]
9. Pl. 19b[1, 2], Pl. 87[15], Pl. 223a[8, 12], Pl. 230[29], Pl. 265[20], Pl. 373[9, 18, 19], Pl. 390[55], Pl. 431a[7]
10. Pl. 226[1], Pl. 302[8, 14, 15, 16]

them the next year in the Dhammarājika pagoda at West Pwazaw, Pagan.[1] As we have seen above Burma and Ceylon had had peaceful relations since the time of *Aniruddha* though they were broken off for a short while probably during the time of *Imtaw Syaṅ* (?1162-5). He was also known as Kalakya – the king who fell at the hands of the Indians. His assassins came from Ceylon. Nevertheless, King *Cañsū* II must have successfully restablished friendly relations with Ceylon as the gift of relics evidently bears witness to that effect. The *Kalyāṇī* inscription (1480) gives an account of a mission from Pagan to Ceylon in A.D. 1170.[2] The leader of the mission was said to be the king's teacher. Although it is not a contemporary account, it supports the statement that King *Cañsū* II tried to open relations with Ceylon and that he was successful. It also seems quite reasonable to think that the king's motives were largely religious in this affair. As we have seen above, there was *Skhiṅ Wineñdhuir* with a large following at Pagan who advocated orthodoxy and purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Naturally these orthodox monks must have persuaded the king to send students to study in Ceylon and to invite Sinhalese teachers to come over and reside in Pagan. The *Kalyāṇī* inscription mentions that a monk named *Chapaṭa* studied in Ceylon for ten years and came back to Pagan in A.D. 1180 with four learned Sinhalese monks.[3] This is not impossible. An inscription dated A.D. 1233 mentions the presence of a teacher from Ceylon called *Buddharaṁsī*[4] who was then the head of a monastic establishment to which the donor gave land and slaves. Another inscription dated A.D. 1248 mentions educational mission to Ceylon probably between 1237 and 1248[5] under the leadership of *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda*.[6] In an inscription dated A.D. 1268, a donor claimed that his deeds of merit were witnessed by all the Sinhalese monks.[7] This evidently shows that not only teachers but also a considerable number of monks from Ceylon were settled in Central Burma. *Arī Caw* in A.D. 1274 narrated the story of the coming of Buddhism which shows good relationship with Ceylon and the people of Pagan were well acquainted with the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*.[8] In A.D. 1278, *Dīpaṅkarā* sent from Ceylon relics of the Lord to Reverend *Tāmalin*[9] who was the head of a big monastery supported by such important persons as Queen *Summlula*'s daughter Princess *Acau* and her uncle Lord *Singasū*. Probably he was also a teacher who came from Ceylon. He was one of the popular *thera* of King *Tarukpliy*'s reign. Thus briefly relations with Ceylon began with the reign of *Anirnddha*, were interrupted for short period during *Imtaw Syaṅ*'s reign and were reestablished from *Cañsū* II's time until the fall of the dynasty. During this second

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1. Pl. 19b1-2
2. T.S.Ko: *The Kalyāṇī Inscription*, pp. 50-2; *Ep. Birm*, III, ii, p. 188, n.5. *Hmannan* (para. 143, *GPC*.p.142) dates this mission in A.D. 1180.
3. The four were *Sīvali*, *Tamalinda*, *Ananda* and *Rāhula*.
4. Pl. 373b9, 18, 19
5. The date of the mission is uncertain. But as these two monks were very popular at Pagan as *Dhammasirī* was *mañcāryā* - the teacher of the king (Pl.36[11]) and *mahāthera* (Pl.297[12]), their names appeared frequently in the list of witnesses to dedications made at Pagan; and the name *Dhammasiri* being absent from the inscriptions after A.D. 1237 until A.D. 1248 suggests that he was abroad. Thus tentatively this mission to Ceylon is dated between 1237 and 1248.
6. Pl. 302
7. Pl. 233a8
8. Pl. 25029
9. Pl. 26520 (See also Pl. 22721, Pl. 266a5, Pl. 266b15, 30, 39, 45)

period religious missions were sent to Ceylon from Pagan which were most probably of the same nature as the mission of A.D. 1476 sent by King Dhammaceti of Pegu. Chronicles mention a mission from Pagan in A.D. 1170. In the inscriptions we find mention of a mission sent between 1237 and 1248 under the leadership of the King's Teacher *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda*. Probably such missions took with them young monks to remain in Ceylon for study and brought back some learned *thera* from Ceylon to reside at Pagan. As a result, the monks educated in Ceylon, monks who received education from Sinhalese *thera* at Pagan and *thera* of Pagan who agreed with the Sinhalese advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that there was also another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as 'forest-dwellers'.

Monks of the *taw kloṅ* – forest monasteries, belonged to the group who were not so eager for reforms, or in other words who allowed certain lapses in the observance of the *Vinaya*. The *Vinaya* requires these *Āraññavāsi* to observe three restrictions, viz., that a forest dweller must enter a village "properly clad"; that he must keep in his abode drinking water, fire, firewood and walking staff; that he must learn the positions of the lunar mansions and must become skilled in the quarters (i.e. in the four parts of the day).[1] As the practice of *āraññakaṅgaṁ* is one of the thirteen *Dhutaṅgaṁ*, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of *Nātoṅmyā* until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many donors began to build *taw kloṅ*[2] or *arañavāsi taau kloṅ*[3] and the dwellers in such places became almost a different sect of the Order. Originally a monk went out alone into the forest withdrawing himself from the communal life of the monks in a monastery to practice *āraññakaṅgaṁ* but this original idea of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called *taw kloṅ* appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under *taw mlat krī*[4] – the Most Reverend Lords of the Forest. In an inscription dated A.D. 1216, a queen's mother built a forest monastery at the Reverend *Yaṅtaw*'s establishment and dedicated seventy *pay* of Land and twenty slaves.[5] *Rājamahāmaṅkalapatiy* built a hollow pagoda at the forest monastery to the east of *Prasatā* (at Minnanthu) in A.D. 1233.[6] *Jeyyapwat* established a forest monastery (at Pwazaw) in A.D. and dedicated a large number of Burmese slaves[7] and in the next year he again dedicated 750 *pay* of land.[8] We have seen how the monks had protested and won against King *Klacwā* when he took the above lands as a sequel to his confiscation of religious lands after his accession. Minnathu[9] and Pwazaw[10] to the east of Pagan and Myinmu[11] and Anein[12] in Monywa district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the [illegible] areas alone. Some of them appeared even in the capital city of Pagan.[13] As mentioned

1. *Vinaya Cullavagga* VIII, I.B. Honner : *The Book of Discipline* V, p. 305
2. Pl. 44a[5], Pl. 68[2], Pl. 89[1,155], Pl. 90,[15, 17, 19, 25, 28], Pl. 123[15, 16], Pl. 132a[2], Pl. 140a[2], Pl. 143a[7], Pl. 143b[5], Pl. 145[10, 25], Pl. 147a[8], Pl. 147b[7], Pl. 153b[4, 8], Pl. 160b[23], Pl. 163[13, 15], Pl. 215a[5], Pl. 226[7], Pl. 246[15], Pl. 268[16], Pl. 296[2], Pl. 297[25, 32], Pl. 417[22], Pl. 567a[1], Pl. 582a[2]
3. Pl. 465a[3]
4. Pl. 208[17], Pl. 223a[8]
5. Pl. 44a[5, 12]
6. Pl. 68[2]
7. Pl. 89[1]
8. Pl. 90[12-14]
9. Pl. 68[2], Pl. 132a[2] (*Caruplhe*), Pl. 163[15] (*Krak Aṅ*). This Minnanthu is the same as *Sacmatt* or Thamahti, the stronghold of the Ari mentioned in the chronicles.
10. Pl. 89, Pl. 90
11. Pl. 123[16]
12. Pl. 296, Pl. 297
13. Pl. 163

above, we find that these so-called forest-dwellers were not practising *āraññakaṅgaṁ* as their name suggests. They lived in big monasteries and had big estates in support of their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the drinking of intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the *Vinaya*.

The forest monasteries, like other monasteries received enormous gifts of land from lay devotees, but they added to it by purchase. An inscription[1] dated A.D. 1248 gives a series of such purchases for the forest monastery of *Mahākassapa*. In A.D. 1242, 330 *pay* at *Riruiṅruiṅ* were purchased in A.D. 1242 for 700 ticals of silver, i.e. a little over two ticals per *pay*.[2] Eightynine *pay* at *Saṅtoṅ* and fifty five *pay* at *Mlacsa* (both in Kyaukse district) were bought at fifteen ticals of silver per *pay* in A.D. 1244. Two years later, 3332 *pay* at *Thipesyaṅ* (Shwebo district) belonging to the *Saw Kantū* people were bought at a tical per *pay*. Another 1010 *pay* from the same people were also bought at the same price. A hundred viss of copper was the price for another 500 *pay*. In A.D. 1248, 1000 *pay* at *Ploṅpla* were bought at two ticals per *pay*. This inscription also records that the monastery received many more thousands of *pay* from various donors. When the Reverend *Cantimā* bought some land (the exact acreage is not given) in A.D. 1249 the price was :

> *khwak 50 nwā lā te phag sā nwā ta khu/se khunhac lumm'awat phyaṅ ṅā dhaṅ lhwaṁ sate/*[3]
>
> fifty (viss of) copper, (only) one (from a pair of) yoke bullocks, one ox (for) beef, seven pots of liquor and five pieces of cloth.

It seems that both parties to the transaction or at least the buyers of the land sat down to a feast when the business was over. The feast for which one whole ox and seven pots of liquor were reserved must have been a fairly big one. Probably the feast was in proportion to the importance of the transaction; because when two monks of *Mahākassapa*'s establishment bought fifty *pay* of land, they spent only five and a half viss of copper for *siy phuiw sā phuiw*[4] – the price of liquor and the price of meat. This practise of feasting at the end of a transaction became popular from the middle of the 13th century onwards. It became insreasingly so after the fall of Pagan until about A.D. 1500.[5] For example, in A.D. 1269 when *Narasaṅkraṁ* bought lands from *Pyaṁkla Ṅa Luiṅ Saṅ*, *Guṇasiddhi* and *Ṅa Yoṅ Saṅ* it was recorded at the end of the transaction as :

> *// ī suiw Pyaṁkla tuiw kuiw mliy phuiw piy so akha le saṁpyaṅ kalan su khapaṅ sa tuiw kuiw lhyaṅ asi amraṅ hū ruy ut talā kan puiṅ thak nwā lā saṅ 1 koṅ siy uiw khak 10 cā sok piy e, // thuiw rhaw akhā cā sok so sū kā Prañ Khwaṅ 1 yok // Ṅa Canti 1 yok // Ṅa Canti sā Ṅa Khan Pha 1 yok // Ṅa Kraṁ Saṅ sā akri aṅai cuṁ Saw akri aṅai aluṁ hi kun, e//*[6]
>
> When *Pyaṁkla* and party were given the price of the land, all the hearing and seeing (i.e. witnessing) *saṁpyaṅ* and *kalan* (were given a feast) by the side of the brick trough of the reservoir where a gelded bull and ten pots of liquor were eaten and drunk. Among those who ate and drunk were present *Prañ Khwaṅ*, *Ṅa Canti*, *Ṅa Khaṅ Pha* son of *Ṅa Canti*, both elder and younger sons of *Ṅa Kraṁ Saṅ* and all *Saw* old and young.

1. Pl. 162–3
2. Prices of land in *kharuin* areas, i.e. in Kyaukse district, were as high as 20 ticals of silver or 8 viss of copper per *pay*. In *tuik* areas, i.e. outlying districts like Shwebo and Chindwin the price was as low as 1 tical of silver or ½ a viss of copper per *pay*. The average was about 8 to 10 ticals of silver or 2 to 3 viss of copper per *pay*.
1. Pl. 380^6.7
4. Pl. 224^10-11
5. See Than Tun: "Mahākassapa and his Tradition", *JBRS*, XLII, ii, 99-118
6. Pl. 395^16-18

Even when a *pay* of land was bought (in A.D. 1270), the price included a pot of liquor and money for meat.[1] In A.D. 1277, the trustees of the Minnanthu monastery dedicated by Minwaing *Phwā Jāquw*, queen-grandmother of *Tarukpliy* bought one thousand *pay* of land from the Saw (*Sāaw*). Expenses incurred including *thamaṅ phuiw siy phuiw sā phuiw* – the price of cooked rice, the price of liquor, the price of meat given in a feast to the *Sāaw* was fifty four ticals of silver.[2] Thus, the "forest dwellers" enlarged their estates by buying up land especially in Shwebo district where the prices were low. To mark the successful end of their transactions, they gave feasts where intoxicating drinks were amply served. This sort of feast became fairly widespread towards the end of the dynasty. Among these forest-dwellers the most frequently mentioned *thera* was *Mahākassapa* who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order.

Mahākassapa was first mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1225 when he received the dedication of land, slaves and cattle made by King *Nātoṅmyā* and his sister *Maṅ Lha*.[3] *Mahākassapa* was then already a famous *thera* at Myinmu in Monywa district. Perhaps Myinmu was then the centre of these "forest-dwellers" and *Mahākassapa* was their leader on account of whose venerableness they received much support from important people of the period. *Mahākassapa*'s attempt to open a branch of his monastery at the capital city of Pagan, was successful because in A.D. 1233 a forest monastery was built at Minnanthu, and another in A.D. 1236 at Pwazaw, both on the eastern side of Pagan. By A.D. 1237, *Mahākassapa*'s name was mentioned side by side with two other prominent *thera* of the city as witnesses to a dedication by *Mahāsaman*, an important minister of the time.[4] The two *thera* were *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda* who were probably away in Ceylon between 1237 and 1248. As these two *thera* undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, it is most probable that they were much alarmed at the appearance of *Mahākassapa* and his new school at the capital and so hastened to Ceylon for inspiration and help[5]. An inscription dated A.D.1242 found among the old pagodas south of Kumè in Kyaukse district contains evidence of further activities of *Mahākassapa*.[6] It said that he established a monastery there. Perhaps he was able to extend his influence to the most prosperous area of the Pagan empire while his two rivals were away in Ceylon. In the meanwhile, he was able to enlist the support of Prince *Kaṅkasū*, half brother of *Nātoṅmyā*. On the death of the prince his wife added a building in memory of her beloved husband to his establishment at Minanthu.[7] According to *Puil sukri* (? General) *Sattyā*'s inscription (A.D.1244) which records the construction of a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a sitting image of the Buddha four cubits high, the *Mahākassapa* establishment was located just outside *arhiy prañ takhā*[8] – the Eastern Gate of the City. In that establishment, the Most Reverend *Mahākassapa* used the monastery built by Princess *Maṅ Lha*[9] as his residence. It

1. Pl. 231a[5]
2. Pl. 268[6]
3. Pl. 123[5,6,7,12]
4. Pl. 102[6]
5. Pl. 302
6. Pl. 140a[2]
7. Pl. 143a[6-7], Pl. 145[10], Pl. 147a[7]
8. Pl. 153a[2-5]
9. Pl. 162[2]

was in that year A.D.1244 that *Mahākassapa* had a land dispute with the *Cakraw* of the Frontier Guard at *Chipton*[2] (? on the north east of Kyaukse district). The land originally belonged to *Sankrammasū*, the grandfather of *Mahākassapa*. We have shown above that from A.D.1248, *Mahākassapa* began to buy thousands of *pay* of land mostly in Shwebo and Chindwin districts. His organization was new and therefore he probably must have felt that it needed the support of a landed interest although he recerved many gifts of land during the years A.D.1247-83 and A.D.1272.[4] It seems that he died between A.D.1272 and A.D.1278. After 1272 the name *Mahākassapa* was used only to denote his establishment[5] and in 1278 there was a new *thera* at his establishment although his name is not mentioned.[6] Thus the life of *Mahāhassapa* from the time when he was already a famous *thera* in the *tuik* – outlying districts of Chindwin in about A.D. 1225 to his growing popularity in *kharuin* – the central districts of Kyaukse, Myingyan and Minbu in about A.D. 1235-40 till his death between A.D. 1272-8, clearly shows us how the forest-dwellers grew in number and popularity to such dimensions as to be considered a major force almost equal in strength to the orthodox group who at that time fervently tried to maintain their ground with help from Ceylon. It took two more centuries to have a clear cut answer in favour of orthodoxy. Although the evidence is meagre it is possible to connect these *āraññavāsi* or forest-dwellers under *Mahākassapa* who bought land in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves *yammakā aphyaw*[7] - a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with *Arañ* or Ari of whom the chronicles thought poorly.

We will first of all deal with the epigraphic evidence concerning *Arañ*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1213 a donor records his deeds of merit as follows:

> *//sapit 100 thañ, ruy, thman thak plañ thañ, ruy, Arañ ā lhū e,//ñuy purhā le san Arañ tuiw, rhiy, khuiw ciy hū ruy piy luik e, // riy twan 1 khu thi e, // kau tū e, // kathuin pac e,// pansakū achū 10 piy e,//sā rahan mū e taryā ū nā e,//*[8]
>
> One hundred almsbowls filled with cooked rice full to the brim were given to the *Arañ*. A silver image of the Lord was also given to the reverend *Arañ* to worship. One well was (dug). One tank was (made). *Kathina* (robe) was given. Ten *pansakū* (robes) were also (given). My son was ordained a monk. We listened to the First Sermon (*Dhammasakka*).

This is the earliest mention of the *Arañ* in the inscriptions and unfortunately this extract gives no information as to their beliefs and practices. Another inscription mentions that two *Arañ* called *Ña Cuik San* and *Ña Can San* quarrelled for ownership of land in A.D.

1. Pl. 162[2]
2. Pl. 165[3-10]. See also *JBRS*, XLII, i, p. 61, n. 71.
3. Pl. 163
4. Pl. 424[55]
5. Pl. 203[2], Pl. 224[12], Pl. 277[2]
6. Pl, 277[2]
7. Pl. 233[14]
8. Pl. 40[4-8]

1224.[1] That some five *pay* of land at Myingontaing in Kyaukse district were bought with the permission of an *Arañ* who was also a judge of theft cases is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1273.[2] We also find one *Arañ* to be the father of a Pagan slave in an inscription dated A.D. 1275[3] and that *Arañ Picañ*'s brother-in-law was a headman in Shwebo district in another inscription of A.D. 1280.[4] This is all we know about the *Arañ*. Anyhow it supports the theory that the *Arañ* or *Arañavāsi taau kloñ*[5] monks appeared in the early decades of the 13th century in such places as Pagan and Shwebo and Kyaukse districts. Burma was not alone in having these *Araññāvāsi* monks during the 13th and 14th centuries. Inscriptions of *Rāma Gamhèñ* (A.D. 1298) and *Vat Pā Tèñ* (A.D. 1406) bear witness to the existence of *araññavāsi* monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya (Siam) too.[6]

According to the chronicles, the Ari were in existence in the 10th and 11th centuries at Pagan and were non-Buddhists. Various theories have been proposed as to their origin. Some connected them with Tāntric Buddhism[7] on the strength of finding some wall paintings at Abhayratanā temple (Myinpāgān)[8], Bhurā:sumchū and Nandamaññā temples (Minnanthu) and held that "the character of all these paintings tallies exactly with oral tradition...about the Ari practices." Professor C. Duroiselle uses an inscription[9] found near Nandamaññā temple to illustrate the above statement. The inscription is dated A.D. 1248 and it mentions that the monks were provided with fermented spirits and morning and evening meals. On this evidence alone we are more inclined to say that the Ari existed not in the 11th but in the 13th century. Although these Ari allowed certain lapses in the *Vinaya*, they were definitely not as debased as the chronicles allege. We find no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except that they allowed some drinks at their feasts. Therefore it is very doubtful that the wall paintings mentioned above have anything to do with the Ari and "it seems unnecessary to search in India for the explanation of young Burman heresy."[10] The derivation of the word Ari offers another problem. Pagan U Tin connected Ari with *ariya* and therefore is of opinion that Ari is the general name for all monks and C. Duroiselle adopted this view.[11] Dr Ba Han supported them.[12] Professor P. M. Tin contradicted them by connecting Ari with *āraññika* (forest-dweller.)[13] As we have noticed above, old Burmans used *ariya* in its complete form and therefore Ari is not the short form of *ariya*. It is more likely that it has been shortened from *āraññika*. But old Burmans were

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1. PI. 54[2] (and duplicate PI. 371b[3])
2. PI. 241[5, 6]
3. PI. 250[2]
4. PI. 264[9]
5. PI. 465a[5]
6. See G. Coedès : *Recueil de Inscriptions du Siam I*, (*Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*), (Bangkok, 1924) pp. 46, 131-9. Professors G. H. Luce & P. M. Tin call attention to the point that the *Vat Pā Tèñ* inscription uses *Culasakkaraja* (which is the same as the Burmans used) from 705 (A.D. 1343) to 768 (A.D. 1406) and this corrects the view taken by W. A. R. Wood in *A History of Siam*, p. 127 that *Culasakkaraja* was introduced by the Burmese after the fall of Ayuthia in 1569 and that the legend of it being used from time of Ramkhamheng is unworthy of serious consideration.
7. See C. Duroiselle : "The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism", *ASI*, 1915-16, pp. 79-93
8. See U Mya : "Wall Paintings of the Abeyadana Temple", *ASI*, 1930-4, pp. 181-4.
9. *List* 277, *PPA*. 250, *TN* 114-16 ; see also G. E. Harvey : *Burma*, p. 60
10. G. H. Luce & P. M. Tin: "Burma Down to the Fall of Pagan", *JBRS*, XXIX, iii, p. 273
11. *JBRS*, X, i, pp.28-30 & iii, pp.158-9
12. *JBRS*, X, iii, p.160
13. *JBRS*, IX, iii, pp.155-6, X, ii, pp.82-3

in favour of using *taw kloṅ* than *arañ* to signify forest-dwellers. We consider that the Ari of the chronicles are the *araññavasi* or *taw kloṅ* monks of the 13th century and therefore misplaced by the chroniclers in the 10th century. They were by no means depraved. We have followed the rise and spread of this new group of the Order through out the life of *Mahākassapa* who seems to have been their leader and possibly the founder. Another aspect of the Order which is quite different from the Order in modern Burma, is the presence of *bhikkhunī*.

The Order in Burma to-day allows no woman in it and tradition says that this begun from A.D.456 but the inscriptions of our period yield some evidence on the strength of which it is possible to revise the above tradition. Female ascetics in the Order were called *bhikkhunī* and we find the mention of *bhikkhunī* among the lists of slaves in two inscriptions dated A.D.1236.[1] The only reason for their presence among the slaves must have been because they were born of of slave parents and though their masters had been kind enough to allow them to be ordained they would become slaves again if and when they left the Order. Very often, we find monks called by their lay names. If it is a *bhikkhunī* she would in some cases be called by her lay name with a prefix *Uiw* or its variants *Uih*, *Uin*, *Uim*, *Ui* and *I*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1196 among the names of five church dignitaries as witnesses to a dedication we find the name of the Reverend *Uiw Paṁ* – the *bhikkhunī* which comes second.[2] One inscription from Pin Sekkalampa, near Yenangyaung, Magwe district, mentions that a *Saṅghathera Uiw, Kraṁ Saṅ* dedicated some slaves to the pagoda in A.D. 1215.[3] As an elder among the monks would be addressed *phun mlat so*[4] – the most reverend, so we find a *bhikkhūnī* addressed as *phun mlat so Uih Tañ Saṅ*.[5] There was also *phun mlat so Uiw Chi Tāw*[6] who must have been quite a popular *bhikkhūnī*. When Princess *Acaw Lat* in A.D.1261 built a hollow pagoda and enshrined relics in it eight church dignitaries were present to recite the *paritta* and *Ui, Chi Tāw* was among them.[8] Perhaps it was this *Ui Chi Tāw* who was mentioned in A.D.1279 as the head of a monastery where a certain land transaction was made.[7] Such names a *Luṁphaṅ* and *Brahmacarī* as two witnesses to a dedication in A.D.1266 also suggests that they were *bhikkhunī*.[8] Another interesting piece of evidence is that in an inscription dated A.D.1267, a female donor mentions certains lands as

> *ṅa pha Klacwā maṅkrī ṅa kuiw rahan mū pe so akhā nhuik pe so lay*//[9]
>
> These lands were given to me by my father the great king *Klacwā* when he (allowed me to enter) the Order.

This donor perhaps quitted the Order and got married after which she made a series of dedications including the above lands. On the reverse face of the inscription she said: "After havivg painted the hollow pagoda my *laṅ maṅsā* – husband the Prince,

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1. Pl.89[27], Pl. 92[14]
2. Pl. 576a[7]
3. Pl. 119a[2-5]
4. Pl. 559a[14]
5. Pl. 297, [19-19]. See *JBRS*, XXV, iii, pp.151-2
6. Pl. 200[14]
7. Pl. 268[16]. The phrase *ui, chi tāw kloṅ* here can be interpreted either as *Ui Chī Tāw*'s monastery or *Ui Chī*'s forest monastery. Whatever the interpretation it seems that the monastery was under *bhikkhunī* head.
8. Pl. 214b[9]
9. Pl. 220[9]

dedicated the following slaves."[1] This strongly suggests that the donor was a daughter of King *Klacwā* who was once a *bhikkhunī*. Thus although the tradition says that there were no *bhikkhunī* since A.D. 456, we have evidences of their presence even in the latter half of the 13th century. It is a pity that modern Burmans are not as liberal minded as their ancestors of Pagan.[2] The last important personality among the monks of our period is *Syaṅ Disāprāmuk* who went to China on a peace mission in A.D. 1275.

When we discussed the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, we mentioned that *Disāprāmuk* rendered his king and country important service by going over to Peking as an ambassador from *Tarukpliy* and successfully pursuading the Great Khan to withdraw his forces from Burma. In token of gratitude the king gave him eight hundred *pay* of land (four hundred at *Hanlaṅ* and another four hundred at *Kramtū*) together with slaves and cattle. All these lands, slaves and cattle, *Disāprāmuk* dedicated to *Panpwat rap ceti*–the pagoda at the Turner's Quarter (Mingalazedi). Then he built a great archway to the shrine. He also built a *cāsaṅtuik*–school building, which was left unfinished, probably due to the growing political troubles of the time. But the good monk was optimistic. He said that his relatives might be able to finish it with the timber he had got from the queen and other miscellaneous gifts from various donors. As regards his mission to China, it is the first known instance of a Buddhist monk in Burma taking a serious interest in politics. The general attitude was to remain aloof from the political sphere. But as his intervention was in the name of peace, to avert unnecessary bloodshed, and to put a stop to a war, it is possible that his colleagues did not have any serious objection to his "meddling" in politics, which was not the business of a monk. His mission was a diplomatic success although short-lived, as further negotiations with China broke down on the assassination of *Tarukpliy*. Later kings of Burma often sent monks on peace missions, but we must remember that *Disāprāmuk* was one of the very first in this field.

In conclusion, we have seen that the Order in our period was divided into two camps, and that they existed side by side in peace. There were also *bhikkhunī* right down to the end of the empire. Of the aforesaid two camps the first was for orthodoxy and wanted the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, the second was that of the *araññavasi* who allowed certain lapses in the *Vinaya*. In spite of the first group's endeavour to counteract the growing popularity of the latter, by sending missions and study groups to Ceylon, and bringing back Sinhalese *thera* and monks to Pagan, we find that the *araññavasi* had a great deal of popular support. Perhaps it was so because they represented indigenous thought appealing direct to Burmese nationalism or perhaps their tenets were easier to follow.

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1. Pl. 221[27]
2. See Ādiccavaṁsa: *Bhikkhunīsāsanopadesa* (A Treatise on Why the Order of Bhikkhunī should be Revived.) The author was excommunicated for advocating the cause of the *bhikkhunī* in 1935.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

THE OLD BURMANS were zealous supporters of the Religion who spent lavishly on the construction and maintenance of various types of religious edifices. When these buildings were completed money, land, cattle and slaves were given for their support. Many interesting accounts of Pagan architecture have been written[1], so our primary concern here is to give the story of these constructions.

A suitable site was selected and the first measure was to put up *tantuiṅ*–an enclosure wall. A donor in A.D. 1192 selected a site just beside a reservoir at Amana and enclosed it with *ut ti plu so tantuiṅ*[2]–a wall entirely of bricks, for the construction of a big and pleasant monastery. Another donor spent 10,000 ticals of silver on building a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a wall around them[3]. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions that the wall alone cost a total of 432¾ ticals of silver.[4] It must have been a fairly large enclosure wall as the establishment contained two monasteries, a library and a hollow-pagoda with four entrances. Some of the enclosure walls were circular[5] but usually they were rectangular or square as they are referred to as *tantuiṅ 4 myaknhā*-four sided walls, complete with *taṅkhā muk*- doors and gateways.[6] These enclosures were necessary not only to distinguish the holy place from its surroundings but also to protect the buildings from fire. A donor in A.D. 1262 called his enclosure *tantuiṅ mikā*[7] - a fire-proof wall. Perhaps this was because he saw the whole city of Pagan burnt to ashes in A.D. 1225.[8] Therefore when he founded an establishment he felt that it ought to have adequate protection from fire. Some donors built *tantuiṅ nhac thap*[9] – double enclosures. The inner one was for shrines and the outer one was usually for monasteries. In one case as much as twenty houses were built for students.[10] Sometimes a banyan tree grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed by a magnificient wall.[11] There were also walls made of stone.[12]

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1. A few of them are: G. H. Luce: "The Greater Temples of Rangoon", *BRSFAP*, II, 169-78; "The Smaller Temples of Pagan", *BRSFAP*, II, 179-90; W. B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", *BRSFAP* II, 505–16
2. Pl. 12[5], Pl. 73[7], Pl. 194[7], Pl. 220[8], Pl. 232[3], Pl. 234[4], Pl. 247[8], Pl. 249[11], Pl. 390[9]
3. Pl. 18[1–5]
4. Pl. 164[42–43]
5. Pl. 69[7]
6. Pl. 390[9], Pl. 423[9]
7. Pl. 205[2]
8. Pl. 122a[2]
9. Pl. 73[4], Pl. 152[5], Pl. 194[4], Pl. 283[6], Pl. 390[14–15]
10. Pl. 152[5]
11. Pl. 232[5]
12. Pl. 390[15]

Within the wall *cankram*[1] – a platform, was made. Most often it was the foundation of a hollow – or solid-pagoda although there were exceptions when it was merely a promenade adjoining a monastery. Walking seems to be the only form of physical exercise befitting a gentle monk[2]. In A.D. 1236 when *Asawat's* wife made a platform adjoining her monastery she enumerated the cost as follows: bricks from two kilns of 60 ticals of silver, cartage 22 ticals, bringing in the timber, probably for the roofing, 6 ticals.[3] We have seven instances[4] where it is mentioned that the platform of the hollow-pagoda was made in the shape of a *kalaśa* pot. Perhaps this refers to the plinth at the base of the platform.

A *kū* was built on such a platform. The word *kū* is clearly from Pali *guha*-a cave and therefore it is a hollow-pagoda made in imitation of a natural cave. Some *kū* had four gateways and thus acquired the name of *kū 4 myaknhā*[5]. Inside a four sided *kū* there were always four images of the Lords[6] placed back to back in the centre, representing the four Buddhas of this present *kappa*. The centre block around which the images were placed was the relic chamber where *sariradhātu*[7] – the bodily relics, were enshrined. The walls of the *kū* would be painted either with *khlyu pan*[8] – floral designs or *chanpu*[9] – pictures of the Lord. In one case as many as 14619 were painted.[10] Some had scenes from the *Jātaka*.[11] A *kū* thus painted would be known as *kū prok*[12] – variegated cave. *Athwat* – the spires of these *kū*, were usually made of copper[13] weighing from about forty viss[14] to one hundred and thirty[15] and were gilded.[16] Above the *athwat* there was the *thī* – umbrella, sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.[17]

Cetī is another type of pagada but unlike the *kū* it is solid in structure. To build a *cetī* firstly a platform had to be made in much the same manner as for erecting a *kū*. One had the plinth in the form of a *kalasa* pot.[18] The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1227 gives us a rough idea of what sort of relics were enshrined in a *Cetī*.

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1. Pl. 73[8], etc.
2. Pl. 97[22], Pl. 102[8], Pl. 126b[4], Pl. 152[5]
3. Pl. 97[22-5]
4. Pl. 73[5], Pl. 80[7], Pl. 194[7], Pl. 220[6], Pl. 234[6], Pl. 247[8], Pl. 249[16]. See also Daw Mya Mu: "The Kalasa Pot", *JBRS*, XXII, ii, pp. 97-8
5. Pl. 50[7, 14]
6. Pl. 275[20], Pl. 423[8, 29, 49]
7. Pl. 17[8], Pl. 19b[2,3] Pl. 73[8], Pl. 78b[7], Pl. 80[10,12] Pl. 191b[11], Pl. 194[8], Pl. 249[17], Pl. 265[20], Pl. 279[1,5,7] Pl. 308[21], Pl. 381[17,18,29], Pl. 390[10]
8. Pl. 221[26]
9. Pl. 73[15], Pl. 80[15], Pl. 194[11,12], Pl. 238[0], Pl. 364[16]
10. Pl. 105a[7]
11. Pl. 194[15], Pl. 248[17]
12. Pl. 218a[11]
13. Pl. 80[17], Pl. 97[12], etc.
14. Pl. 73[18], Pl. 80[17]
15. Pl. 194[15]
16. Pl. 105a[10], Pl. 194[13], Pl. 249[21], etc.
17. Pl. 73[12]
18. Pl. 80[8]

//jeti dhāpanā so akhā kā //=// Sakarac 589 khu Māgha saṁwacchuir // Plasuiw la chan 14 ryak Puttahū niy, ā // purhā skhiṅ sarīradhat taw // ñoṅ taw akhak nhaṅ plu so purhā // rhuy rāñ swan so purhā // ṅuy rāñ swan so purhā // phan plu so purhā // chaṅ cway amrutiy plu so purhā // tānc īkū plu so purhā // ỉy mhya so dhat tāw // chaṅpu taw khapsim so kuiw // rhuy camakhan ṅuy camakhan le khāṅ luik e, // rhuy thī ṅuy thī le choṅ luik e, // rhuy pok 2 ṅuy pok 2 // rhuy tanchoṅ ṅuy tanchoṅ tuiw phlaṅ le pucaw luik e, // ỉy suiw so ratanā phlaṅ dhapanā ruy ut nhaṅ phway e, // phway pri so kā aṅkatiy nhaṅ rup nat athū 2 saphlaṅ achan akray plue e,//.[1]

On Wednesday 22 Dec. 1227, (the followinging) are enshrined in the *cetiya*: the bodily relics of the Lord; the image of the Lord made from the branch of the sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in silver; the image of the Lord made of crystal; the image of the Lord made of ivory bezoar; and the image of the Lord made of sandal-wood. (Underneath) all these relics and images are spread gold cushions and silver cushions and images are topped with gold umbrellas and silver umbrellas. Perched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers are also offered. When these gems are enshrined, the (relic chamber) is closed with bricks. After this wonderful and magnificent figures of *deva* and various beings are made with stucco.

Another form of pagoda is *puthuiw*.[2] From such information as we have from the inscriptions, it is very difficult to state the difference in shape or style between *cetī* and *puthuiw*. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as *kū*. The term *puthuiw* is also used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc.[3] We also find mention of *puthuiw nī*[4] – the red pagoda and *puthuiw prok*[5] – the variegated pagoda. These names imply that these pagodas were painted either in one colour or in many colours. They were not entirely white or gold as a modern pagoda.

The houses for the monks were called *kloṅ* and if it was built of brick it was known as *kulā kloṅ*[6] – the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with *sac ñay muiw*[7] – thatch roof or *mwan khoṅ ta cwaṅ*[8] – high and grand roof. In some cases the monastery would be profusely decorated and painted so that it would be known by the name of *kloṅ prok*[9] – the variegated monastery or *paṇpu kloṅ*[10] – monastery with wood

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1. Pl. 80[9-17]
2. Pl. 8b[4], Pl. 9[11], Pl. 19a[21], etc.
3. Pl. 308[19]
4. Pl. 389a[5]
5. Pl. 377b[4]
6. Pl. 64[6], Pl. 97[22,25,26], Pl. 132b[14,15], Pl. 164[6,41,45], Pl. 187[2], Pl. 194[16], Pl. 197[4,7], Pl. 198[6], Pl. 205[5]; Pl. 212[2,14], Pl. 222a[10], Pl. 234[8,16], Pl. 247[10], Pl. 248[15]; Pl. 256[24], Pl. 265[17,38], Pl. 266b[31,44], Pl. 277[10], Pl. 283[6]; Pl. 288[5], Pl. 380[18], Pl. 382[5], Pl. 389c[5], Pl. 395[19], Pl. 428[26], Pl. 563a[8], Pl. 581b[7]. For ground plans of these brick monasteries see W.B. Sinclair: "Monasteries of Pagan", *BRSFAP*, II, 505—16.
7. Pl. 428[28]
8. Pl. 390[12]. See also Pl 205[5], Pl. 285[5]
9. Pl. 60b[2]

17 UP. Q-144-1000-23-8-78.

carvings. The *kulā kloṅ* were usually adorned with such decorations and extension as *calac*[1] – "flame pediments" over doorways and windows, *prasat*[2] – multiple roofs, *chaṅ waṅ*[3] – "elephant entrance" i.e. porch, *uchak*[4] – front extension, *tulik*[5] (Old Mon: *dirlec, dirlac*) –? assembly hall and *pwat tuiṅ*[6] – polished pillars. Buildings such as *sim* (*sīma*) – the ordination hall, *piṭaka tuik* – library, *dhammasā* – preaching hall, *tanchoṅ* – rest house, *carap* – alms house, *kappiyakuṭī* - store house, etc. were built near the monasteries.

For the details of such constructions it would not be superfluous to give a contemporary account. The establishment described below was founded by the great minister *Anantasūra* and his wife and was completed on 17 Dec. 1223.

> *||īy Āmanā mañ so kān arap nhuik-kā||myā cwā so than paṅ ti lhyaṅ kloṅ araṁ cuik lat ruy,|| ut-ti plu so tantuiṅ le nhac thap raṁ lat ruy, || tantuiṅ twaṅ nhuik kā kalasā uiw ayoṅ nhaṅ, tū so taṅ, tay cwā so caṅkraṁ thak kū le tañ e,||kū dhamanā so akhā nhuik-kā||sarīradhat-tāw thañ, so tancikū krwac||thuiw apa kā phan plu so krwac || thuiw apa kā tancikū nī plu so krwac || thuiw apa kā ṅuy plu so || thuiw apa kā rhuy mu ruy, ratanā ti amyak khat so || thuiw apa kā chaṅ cway plu so || thuiw apa kā kriy ni plu so || thuiw apa kā klok plu so puthuiw || thuiw twaṅ thañ pā so || rhuy camakhan|| ṅuy camakhan||rhuy pok 2 || ṅuy pok 2 || rhuy tanchoṅ|| ṅuy tanchoṅ tuiw, phlaṅ, pujāw ruy, thañ, luik e, || klok puthuiw kuiw kā chiy riy ruy, kriy khrañ nhaṅ, khak e, || athwat kā rhuy thwat plu e, || athwat thak-kā rhuy thī chok e, || rhuy thī kuiw kā pulay santā chway e, || athwat ok rhuy, kā puchuiw 7 thap lhwaṁ e, || puchuiw thak-kā rhuy kyaktaṅuiy khat e, || rhuy 30 swan so rhuy purhā 1 khu || ṅuy 50 swan so ṅuy purhā 1 khu || klok phlū plu ruy, rhuy rāñ riy so purhā 1 khu || rhuy thī ṅuy thī tuiw, le choṅ e, || thuiw suiw, so athu thū sa phlaṅ, plu ruy, dhāmanā e, || kū twaṅ kā purhā skhiṅ chaṅpu liymyaknhā plu ruy, ratanā ti tok pa chan kray ciy e, || kū araṁ twaṅ nhuik-kā myā cwā so purhā chaṅpu le plu e, || jāt ṅa ryā le ataṅ, atay riy e, || kū thwat tanchā panthyan lak twaṅ khin piy ruy, khut so kriy kā 47 bisā 8 buih 4 klyap || khut so yut so kriy kā 7 bisā 9 klyap || aprī khaṁ so kriy kā bisā 40 || 7 buiy 5 klyap || rhuy sā waṅ so 39 klyap 3 mat || pratā rañ kā 159 klyap waṅ e, || īy suiw, so ratanā phlaṅ, kū thwat kuiw tok pa ciy e, || piṭakat suṁ puṁ so tryā apuṁ le plu e, || tryā nā am, so parisat takā cañ wañ cim, so ṅhā klok ut ti phway, sa sāyā cwā so dhammasā le plue e, || tryā haw rā rhuy panlaṅ le plu e, || panlaṅ thak-kā rhuy thī le chok e, || athak phlaṅ, kā pitān le chaṅ e, || niraban kuiw luiw so sutāw takā tuiw, chumha khaṁ ciṁ, so ṅhā skhiṅ thera niy rā sāyā cwā so kloṅ krī le plu e, || tantuiṅ tac thap so apa wankyaṅ kā sāsanā kuiw khyat ruy, staṅ kyaṅ, so skhiṅ ariyā tuiw, niy cim, so ṅha myā cwā so kloṅ le acan plu e' || skhiṅ arīya tuiw riy khyaṁsā cim, so ṅhā ut-ti phway, so riy twaṅ le tū e, || ut-ti phway, so 4 thoṅ, kan le tū e ||arhiy, plaṅ, kā kan krī le 2 chaṅ, tū e, riy waṅ cim, so ṅhā plwan nhaṅ, talā le ataṅ, atay plu e, || riy kān apā wankyaṅ kā uvan le cuik e, || thuiw kloṅ apa kā liymyaknhā lā lā so sutuaw takā || ṅiy so ||*

1 Pl. 64[6], Pl. 153a[4] Pl. 164[5],[6], Pl. 205[5], Pl. 234[10],[16], Pl. 246[5], Pl. 283[6], Pl. 285[5], Pl. 288[4], Pl. 307c[5],[4]
2. Pl. 85[2], Pl. 165b[5]. Pl. 234[16], Pl. 282[12], Pl. 283[6], [16], Pl. 285 [9],[10], Pl. 288[4], Pl. 291[7], Pl. 313a[5], Pl. 382[2], Pl. 428[51]
3. Pl. 64[5], Pl. 246[5]
4. Pl. 164[6], [15], Pl. 234[16] (*uthwak*), Pl. 283[6] (*uthwak*)
5. Pl. 283[6]
6. Pl. 147a[11]

īp so // ryap so // aluiw ra cim, so ṅhā // taṅ, tay cwā so tantuiṅ twaṅ rup athu thū sa phlaṅ, chan kray tha lyak so sāyā cwā so tanchoṅ krī le plu e, // thuiw anok phlaṅ, kā alhū piy luiw so sutaw tuiw, alhū piy cim, so ṅhā // mray mraṁ cwā so ut carap le plu e, // īy ṅā kloṅ nhuik hiy, so // purhā tryā saṅghā tuiw, khyaṁsa cim, so ṅhā // prañ aca nhuik kā // ut nhaṅ, mray mraṁ cwā phway, so kappiyakuṭiy le plu e, // alup aklwañ le myā cwā thā piy e, // liymyaknhā lā lā so sū tuiw, riy aluiw ra cim, so ṅhā // ut nhaṅ, mray mraṁ cwā phway, so riy twaṅ le tū e, // īy mhya so anhac moṅ nham plu so koṅmhu khapsim sa kā // sāsanā anhac 5000 mlok oṅ tañ rac cim, so ṅhā // aci aryaṅ myā cwā plu sate // = // īy anhac moṅ nham plu so koṅmhu khapsim so kuiw // anhac kuiw cā akha mlaṅ, mlay plu phā rac cim, so ṅhā // tanlaṅ lhañ cim, so ṅhā // purhā tryā nhuik saṁput // chimī // kwaṁ pan // ma prat taṅ rac cim, so ṅhā // sañ khaṁ so skhiṅ ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwaṁ pan lup klwañ rac cim, so ṅhā // anhac moṅ nhaṁ lhū so // ... [1]

At this place (around) the tank called *Āmanā* (Minanthu), (we) planted many toddy palms in a monastery compound. (We) then enclosed it within two walls made of brick and within (these) walls upon a fine platform (the plinth of which) is in the shape of a *kalasā* pot, (we) constructed a hollow-pagoda. When enshrining (that) hollow-pagoda, (we) encased the relics of the Holy Body in a sandalwood casket and put it within a crystal casket, (then) a red sandalwood casket, a gold (casket), a silver (casket), a gilt and jewelled (casket), an ivory (casket), a red copper (casket) and (lastly) within a stone (miniature) pagoda. (Moreover, we) offered reverently and set therein cushions of gold, cushions of silver, parched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers. As for the stone (miniature) pagoda, it was painted and criss-crossed with copper wire. The spire was made of gold. Above the spire (we) set up a gold umbrella, hung with pearls and coral. (We) wrapped (the whole miniature pagoda) up to the spire with seven folds of cloth and on the cloth was stamped the gold seal of *Kyaktaṅuiy*. There was a gold image of the Lord cast of thirty (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of fifty (ticals) of silver and a gilt image of the Lord made of marble. Over these also (we) spread gold and silver umbrellas. (We) enshrined all these various things. In the (chamber) of the hollow - pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted the (scenes from) five hundred *jātaka*.[2] (For adorning) the spire of the hollow - pagoda with an ornament (we) weighed and cut off into the hands of the coppersmith forty - seven viss, eight *buih*[3] and four ticals of copper; seven viss and nine ticals were lost in (the course

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1. Pl. 73[6-31]. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i, pp. 55-6.

2. Later donors in their zeal white washed the walls so the paintings are now no more.

3. To-day there is no intermediary measure between tical and viss. The meaning of the word *buih* or *buiy* is unknown. According to this inscription 10 ticals made 1 *buih* and probably 10 *buih* made 1 viss as 100 ticals made 1 viss. Perhaps the word comes from *pala*. According to R.C Temple: "Notes on the Development of Currency in the Far East" *IA*, XXVIII, 102-10, 5 ticals made 1 bôh.

> of the work) and the net (weight of the spire) was forty viss, seven *buiy* and five ticals. The amount of sterling gold included was thirty nine ticals and three quarters and of liquid quick silver one hundred and fifty nine ticals. With all these precious things (we) caused the spire of the hollow - pagoda to shine. (We) also made (a copy) of the Three *Piṭakā* – the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place for preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery —the residence of our Lord the Elder also was made, where all good people desiring *nirvana* might receive instruction. In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant *tanchoṅ* – rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a permanent *caṛap* – alms house, of brick where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a store house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfil their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly built of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us) – the loving couple, may last through out the 5000 years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the premises) may be cleansed, that regular offerings of food, oil-lights, betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we) – the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves).

The establishment as seen to-day looks like the plan[1] shown on the next page.

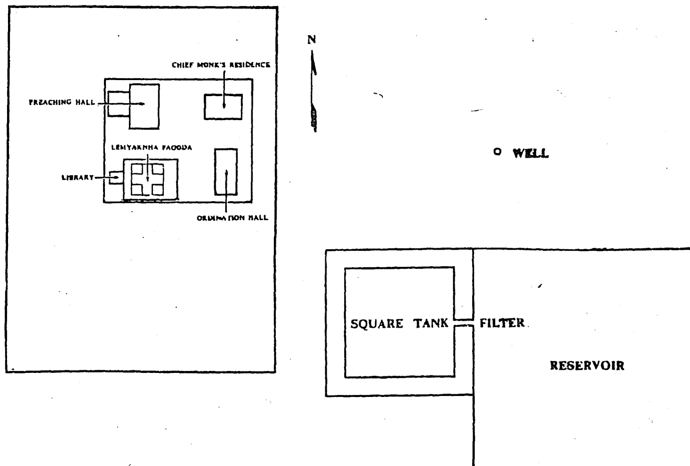
Princess *Acawkrwan*, daughter of King *Uccanā* and Queen *Suṁlūla* founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnanthu, Pagan, and left an interesting account of the expenditure on that work. The establishment consisted of a hollow – pagoda with four images of the Lord, a library with a complete set of the *piṭaka*, a preaching hall, a big monastery with multiple roofs, a big brick monastery with front extension and an enclosure wall all around them. The expenditure was as follows:

> *// apoṅ krī kū phway, so kla so ṅuy kā 1747 pay 3 luṁ // apoṅ krī khwak kā 74 pisā // apoṅ krī puchuiw kā 113 thañ // apoṅ krī kū thwat lin so rhuy 23 klyap // apoṅ krī pratā 92 klyap // apoṅ krī capā 1867½ // apoṅ krī kwaṁsī 2 kaḍuṅ*

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1. The author is indebted to U Swe and his team of the Burma Historical Commission for this plan.

PLAN OF THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT AT ĀMANĀ, PAGAN, BY ANANDASURA AND HIS WIFE IN (A. D. 1223)



nhaṅ, 1160 luṁ//apoṅ krī ṅrut $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$*//apoṅ krī chā* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *// apoṅ krī kū thwat khut so kriy kā 66 bisā // 0 // piṭakat plu so kla so ṅuy kā apoṅ krī 2027 // apoṅ krī chan* $504\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$ *//apoṅ krī capa* $2309\frac{1}{2}$ *//apoṅ krī chā* $110\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{16}$*//apoṅ krī ṅrut* $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ *// apoṅ krī kwaṁsī 10 kaḍuṅ nhaṅ, 4870 // apoṅ krī calac kloṅ hoṅ plu so kla so ṅuy kā 758* $\frac{1}{4}$ *4 luṁ // apoṅ krī khwak 8 bisā // apoṅ krī puchuiw 68 thañ // apoṅ krī capā 504 taṅ apoṅ krī kwaṁsi 2200 // apoṅ krī catuik plu so kla so ṅuy kā 215 klyap // 0 // apoṅ krī Kulā kloṅ krī ūchak plu so kla so khwak kā 306 bisā // ṅuy kā 392* $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ *// puchuiw kā 45 thañ // 0 // apoṅ krī tantuiṅ plu so kla so ṅuy kā432* $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ *// khwak kā apoṅ krī bisā 20 // apoṅ krī lhañ kha khwak 53 pisā // apoṅ krī puchuiw 12 thañ // apoṅ krī capā 182 taṅ //0//apoṅ krī Cuḷamani plu so kla so ṅuy kā 44* $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ *// rhuy 3 luṁ khra // apoṅ krī khwak 13 bisā kriy 30 //o//apoṅ krī Tanmhwam Kulā kloṅ plu so kla so ṅuy kā 215 klyap // apoṅ krī khwak kā 9 bisā //*[1]

On the construction of the hollow – pagoda:

Grand total of silver	1747 (ticals) 3 *pay*
Grand total of *khwak*	74 viss
Grand total of loincloths	113 pieces
Grand total of gold (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda)	23 ticals
Grand total of quick silver	92 ticals
Grand total of paddy	$1867\frac{1}{2}$ (baskets)

1. Pl. 164[54-46]. See also *JBRS*, XXVI, i. p. 57 and *BRSFAP*, II, pp. 369-70, n. 105.

Grand total of areca nuts	2 *kaḍuṅ* + 1160
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{7}{32}$ (?viss)
Grand total of salt	$7\frac{1}{2}$(?viss)
Grand total of copper (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda)	66 viss

On the (copying) of the *Piṭaka*:

Grand total of silver	2037 (ticals)
Grand total of paddy	$504\frac{9}{16}$ (baskets)
Grand total of salt	110 (viss)
Grand total of black pepper	$\frac{23}{32}$ (viss)
Grand total of areca nuts	10 *kaḍuṅ* + 4870

On the repairing of the old monastery with "flame pediments"

Grand total of silver	$758\frac{1}{4}$ ticals 4 *luṁ*
Grand total of *khwak*	8 viss
Grand total of loincloths	68 pieces
Grand total of paddy	504 baskets
Grand total of areca nuts	2200

On the building of the library:

Grand total of silver	215 ticals

On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension:

Grand total of *khwak*	306 viss
of silver	$392\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals)
of loincloths	45 pieces

On the erection of an enclosure wall:

Grand total of silver	$432\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals)
Grand total of *khwak*	20 viss
Grand total of *khwak* on cart hire	53 viss
Grand total of loincloths	12 pieces
Grand total of paddy	182 baskets

On the construction of the *Cuḷāmani* (pagoda):

Grand total of silver	$44\frac{3}{4}$ (ticals)
of gold	3 *luṁ khra*
Grand total of *khwak*	13 viss
of copper	30 viss

On the building of the *Tanmhwam* brick monastery:

Grand total of silver	215	ticals
Grand total of *khwak*	9	viss

One cannot help noticing that making a copy of the *Piṭaka* was more costly than erecting a hollow-pagoda. In fact for less than one and a half the cost of the *Piṭaka* a big monastery with "flame pediments" could be built. The enclosure walls cost nearly as much as the monastery itself. As rice, salt, pepper, areca nuts and loincloths are mentioned in the cost, it seems that workers were given free food and clothing during the constuction of the establishment. Another inscription (A.D. 1236) gives a detailed account of wages and expenses.

// panphay piy sa le 4 klyap // kū riy so pankhī piy so le 7 // kloṅ riy so pankhī piy so le 120 // ranāy way so 7 klyap // panpu piy ra so 30 purhāsamā piy so 20 tuik raṁ lin so 2 klyap // nan riy so rhuy 2 klyap // kanāpraṅ sac phuiw 10 // ta tuiṅ klok aphuiw kā 3 klap khway // kū kloṅ taṁkhā muk cum, aṅkatiy phuiw kā // khwak 3 klyap so kā ṅuy 13 nwā 5 khu so ṅuy 20 // añak way so 5 klyap laṅpan so ṅuy 5 klyap // pyā 62 tanak so kā pyā phuiw ṅuy 71 klyap // nwā nuiw, kā 248 tanak // nwā nuw, aphuiw kā 25 klyap // sarwat phuiw kā capā 320 // klok ut 300 so e, rikhā capā 30 aṅkatiy thoṅ kha pisañ piy so capā 120 // purān rikhā capā 140 // pankhī rikhā capā 54 taṅ // tacañsañ panpu rikhā capā 60 // capā aphuiw kā 4 taṅ so 1 klyap swaṅ sakā ṅuy hū mu kā 38 klyap hi e, // kū thwat kriy pisa khway so ṅuy 3 klyap // rhuy 1½ so ṅuy 12 klyap // prata 3 klyap so le ṅuy 2 klyap // kū thwat lakkha piy so le ṅuy 10 // saṁ phuiw ṅuy 10 // kloṅ ranāy thup lyok way so ṅuy 20 // sac ṅāṅ so lhañ kha piy so ṅuy 10 // chiy, than haṅsapatā chun mliyphlū kyaktaṅuiy khrit kaṁkut khapaṅ so e, aphuiw kā ṅuy 50 // purhā ryap chay chū so le purhāsamā piy so le ṅuy 10 pankhī piy so le ṅuy 20 // pratā sañ piy sa le pukhrañ phyaṅ 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ // purhāsamā piy so phyaṅ mañ klyaw 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ // pankhī piy so pukhrañ phyaṅ 1 thañ khachī 1 thañ // laksamā 3 kip so le pukhrañ khachī 30 // purān 4 yok so piy sa le phyaṅ 4 thañ khachī 4 thañ // purhāsamā mraṅ 1 cī // purān laksama mraṅ 1 cī // pukhrañ phyaṅ 2 thañ khachī 2 thañ // caṅkraṁ Kulā kloṅ phway, so ut kā 2 phuiw // ut e, aphuiw kā ṅuy 60 // lhañ kha kā 22 klyap // caṅkraṁ sac ṅāṅ so lhañ kha ṅuy 6 klyap // tacañ sañ piy so lakkha kā ṅuy 10 // Kulā kloṅ taṁkhā plu so ṅuy 1 klyap // taṁkhā khuṁ klok 1 chū so kā ṅuy 1¼ // Kulā kloṅ phway, so purān lakkha 3½ // lhañ kha khwak 1 khlap so ṅuy 2 klyap // kwaṁsī 1350 so ṅuy 2 klyap // capā 4 taṅ so ṅuy 1 klyap phyaṅ phlū 1 thañ so ṅuy 1 klyap // taṁkhā khuṁ klok . . so le ṅuy . . klyap //[1]

Given to the blacksmiths	4	ticals (of silver)
Given to the painters who painted the *kū*	7	(ticals of silver)
Gives to the painters who painted the *kloṅ*	120	(tlcals of silver)
For the purchase of rafters	7	ticals (of silver)

1. Pl. 97[1-29]. See also *BRSFAP*, II, 367-9, n. 105.

Given to the wood-carvers	30	(ticals of silver)
Given to the image-makers	20	(ticals of silver)
For painting the walls	2	ticals (of silver)
For painting the ? shrine	2	ticals of gold
Cost of wood for the ? out-house	10	(ticals of silver)
Cost of a monolith	3½	ticals (of silver)
Cost of plasters for doors and archways of the *kū* and the *kloṅ* is 3 cups of *khwak* at	13	(ticals) of silver
For 5 cattle	20	(ticals) of silver
For the purchase of powder	5	ticals (of silver)
For trays	5	ticals of silver
Cost of 22 *tanak* of honey	77	ticals (of silver)
Cost of 248 *tanak* of milk	25	ticals (of silver)
Cost of mortar	320	(baskets) of paddy
For 300 stone bricks	30	(baskets) of ? store – paddy
Given to the pounders for crushing the plaster	120	(baskets) of ? store – paddy
For the masons	140	(baskets) of ? store – paddy
For the painters	54	(baskets) of ? store – paddy
For the ? adzers and wood-carvers	20	(baskets) of ? store – paddy
Cost of paddy – 4 baskets at	1	tical (of silver)
For bringing in the...	38	ticals (of silver)
For the spire of the *kū* copper 1½ viss at	3	ticals (of silver)
1½ (ticals) of gold	12	ticals of silver
3 ticals of quick silver	2	ticals of silver
Wages for the spire of the *ku*	10	(ticals) of silver
Cost of iron	10	(ticals) of silver
For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams and eaves-boards for the *kloṅ*	20	(ticals) of silver
Cart hire for dragging timber	10	(ticals) of silver
Cost of orpiment, vermillion, minium chalk, ? *kyaktaṅuiy*, gum-lac and plumbago altogether	50	(ticals) of silver
Given to the image-makers for 10 standing Buddhas	10	(ticals) of silver
Given to the painters	20	(ticals) of silver
Given to the workers in quick silver	1	lower garment
	1	waist band
Given to the image-makers	1	fine black cloth
	1	waist band

Given to the painters	1 lower garment 1 waist band
For thirty carpenters	(30) lower garments 30 waist bands
Given to 4 mansons	4 pieces of cloth 4 waist bands
To the image-makers	1 horse
To the mason-carpenter	1 horse 2 lower garments 2 waist bands
Bricks from 2 kilns to construct the promenade of the *Kulā kloṅ*	60 (ticals) of silver
Cart hire	22 ticals (of silver)
Cart hire for dragging timber for the promenade	6 ticals of siver 10 (ticals) of silver
Wages given to the ? adzers	10 (ticals) of silver
For making the doors of the *Kulā kloṅ*	1 tical of silver
For a block of stone for the door threshold	1¼ (tical) of silver
Wages of the masons who constructed the *Kulā kloṅ*	3½ (ticals) of silver
Cart hire – *khlap* of *khwak* at	2 ticals of silver
For 1350 areca nuts	2 ticals of silver
For 4 baskets of paddy	1 tical of silver
For 1 piece of white cloth	1 tical of silver
For . . stones for the door-threshold	....

The painters, carvers and image-makers who decorated the finished building were equally as important as the masons, carpenters and blacksmiths who built it. It would be interesting to know why the master mason and image-maker were given horses. As we have seen, the workers seem to enjoy free food and clothing during their work on the establishment. Inscriptions of the later period also show that the workers enjoyed free food, etc. and that the master architects were given oxen, horses and elephants. For the sake of comparison a rough rendering into English of the relevant portion of an inscription (lines 27-49) dated A.D. 1520 of Nigyawda village near Tada-U is given below:

On Saturday 17 August 1504 just after midnight the plan of the building was laid and the foundation area was dug up. The building was to be

41½ feet wide
44 feet long
44½ feet high and
7½ feet thick.

In the morning some gold and silver bricks were laid to mark the auspicious beginning of the establishment to be known as *Nigroda* (The Banyan Grove) Monastery. The following were given as the price of various building materials and as the wages of workers, etc.

For bricks	9	*narakā* horses
	4	oxen
	1	silver tray
	1	silver bowl
	10	viss of silver
	39	bronze trays
	1	bolt of cotton
	10	pieces of cloth
	47	turbans
	18	bundles of tea
Firewood	650	viss of copper
Anothor consignment of bricks	120	viss of copper
The doorsteps	11	viss of copper
To masons	480	baskets of paddy
The site of the Monastery	200	viss of copper
	800	basket of paddy
Varnish	150	viss of copper
Molasses and buffalo hide	50	viss of copper
To masons who made the *maraphan* and top decorations	80	baskets of paddy
Makers of plaster	10	ticals of silver
For other wages	370	ticals of silver
The total expenditure for construction	7740	ticals of silver
	5060	baskets of paddy

On Sunday 23 July 1509 the planing of wood began. On Monday 28 August 1509 the wooden portion of the building began.

1 cross beam	10½	ft. long
1 wall plate	27	ft. long
4 Central posts	45	ft. long each

These six were put under a white umbrella and were raised in place simultaneously to the accompaniment of drums, horns and bugles.

For timber	2	*narakā* elephants
	14	horses

	8	oxen
	28	pieces of cloth
	197	pieces of loin cloth
	130	bundles of tea
	2784	baskets of paddy
	4	silver trays
	2	silver bowls
	27	copper trays
Various wages	1000	viss of copper
To hewers of stone	$1466\frac{3}{5}$	ticals of silver
	$17\frac{1}{2}$	viss of copper
	43	pieces loin cloth
	4321	baskets of paddy
Carvers of stone	1420	ticals of silver
Enclosure wall	385	ticals of silver
Māraphan partition	40	viss of copper
Canopy	70	ticals of silver
Nonnan pran	90	ticals of silver
Painters	350	ticals of silver
Sawyers	10	ticals of silver
Wood-carvers	2	elephants
	23	horses
	12	oxen
	5	silver trays
	3	silver bowls
	66	copper trays
	38	pieces of cloth
	278	turbans
	148	bundles of tea

The total cost of the main building and its top extension were paid in both silver and copper but in terms of silver it was 13644 ticals of silver. The provisions given amounted to 90381 baskets of paddy.

To gild the top extension	715	ticals of gold
Painting the main building	300	ticals of silver
Copying a set of *tipiṭaka* in 130 works	3333	ticals of silver
	3333	baskets of paddy

Now we find that the cost of a fairly big brick building with wooden decorations in the early 16th century was 13,644 ticals of silver and the cost of gilding and painting was 715 ticals of gold and 300 ticals of silver. It took nearly five years to complete the building. The copying of a set of *piṭaka* was 3333 ticals of silver and 3333 baskets of paddy. We have mentioned above that in the middle of the 13th century, a big monastery could be built with one third of the price of the *piṭaka*. In the 16th century the monastery cost nearly five times the price of the *piṭaka*. Perhaps it was because scribe's fee had been reduced greatly as more people know the art of writing than in the Pagan period. It is a pity that that we do not know the length of time taken to complete these establishments. But from the evidence in the Shwegu inscription [1] we know that a fairly big hollow-pagoda could be completed within seven months. The building of Shwegu started on Sunday 17 May 1131 and everything was completed on Thursday 17 Dec. 1131. Another donor gave an interesting list of dates as follows.

> *|| Sakarāc 598 khu Kratuik nhac || Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak || Tannhaṅlā niy, tak 9 phlwā khway puthuiw kū thāpanā e, || 28 ryak . lhyaṅ pri e, || kū thāpanā so niy, lhyaṅ riy twaṅ tū e, || Tapuiwthway la chut 13 ryak Sokrā niy lhyaṅ tantuiṅ tañ e, || Tapoṅ la plañ tantuiṅ pri e, || kū rhuy thwat kā Tapoṅ la chut 7 ryak Tannhaṅlā niy tak 9 phlwā khway taṅ e, || kū chiy riy sa kā Tankhū la chan 10 ryak Sukra niy kū purhā 14619 yok || jāt 550 || 12 ryak Tannhaṅlā niy pri e, || kloṅ le pri e, || dhammasā pri e, || tryā panlaṅ pri e, || khoṅloṅ kriy apisā 106 pisā khway e, swan e, || kū thwat kā kriy 55 pisā khway kū thwat lin so rhuy 46 klyap hiy e, || purhā liymyaknhā so lin so rhuy 20 || cāsaṅ 5 khu plu e, || mlac ok kū ṅay le chiy riy e, kloṅ twaṅ puthuiw purhā chuiw plu e, || ñoṅ 3 pāṅ cuik e, || riy īm 3 pā plu e, || samaruiw le chok e, pitakat le pri e, || Namyun la chan 7 ryak Tannhaṅlā niy kā pan e, || Nattaw la chut 9 ryak Sukrā niy kā lhwat e, kū kā Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak Tannhaṅlā niy thāmanā e, || 0 || Sakarac 599 khu Myakkasuih nhac Kuchun la chut 4 ryak Tannhaṅlā niy maṅ mat Ñāṇapicañ kū lhwat e, lhwat so lhū so purhā kywan...* [2]

When the rising sun cast nine and a half foot-steps (of shadow) on Monday 16 Dec. 1236, the hollow-pagoda was enshrined. It was finished after (the lapse of) twenty eight days (i.e. on 13 Jan. 1237). On the day the hollow-pagoda was enshrined a well was dug. On Friday, 25 Jan. (1237), the enclosure wall was built. It was completed on 10 Feb. (1237). The golden spire of the hollow-pagoda was set up when the rising sun cast nine and a half footsteps (of shadow) on Monday 17 Feb. (1237). (On the walls of) the hollow-pagoda were painted 14,619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 *Jātaka*. The painting was started on Friday, 7 March (1237) and completed on Monday, (? 24 March 1237). The monastery

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1. Pl. 1 and 2
2. Pl. 105a1-20. See also *JBRS*, XXXVI, i, pp. 56-7.

> was also finished. The Hall of the Law was finished. The throne of the Law was finished. A bell was cast of 106½ viss of copper. The spire of the hollow-pagoda (weighed) 55½ viss of copper and was coated with 46 ticals of gold. The gold for coating four images of the Lord placed back to back was 20 (ticals). Five ?hostels for the students were constructed. The small hollow-pagoda on the north was also painted. A ruined solid-pagoda within (the enclosure of) the monastery was repaired. Three banyan trees were planted. Three water closets were made. A *samaruiw*[1] was also built. The *Piṭaka* was also finished. An application (? to the king) was made on Monday 13 April (1236). The dedication was made on Friday 25 Nov. (1236). The hollow-pagoda was enshrined on Monday 16 Dec. (1236). On Monday 14 May 1237, the minister *Ñaṇapaccaya* dedicated slaves ...

The donor who was a minister, probably had to apply to the king for a grant of land for his intended religious establishment. It was a little over a year from the date of the application to the date when he gave land and slaves to the finished establishment.

Thus from the illustrations given above we find that a fairly big religious establishment enclosed by a brick wall and consisting of a pagoda, many monasteries and other religious buildings could be completed in a year under normal conditions. Abnormal times however delayed buildings. We find that a building started on the eve of the Mongol invasion was left unfinished for fifteen years.[2] Usually the enclosure wall was constructed first. Sometimes double enclosures were made–the inner compound was reserved for the Lord and the Law and the outer area for the Order. The donors took great care to transform such enclosed areas into delightful gardens with reservoirs and palm trees. Then within the inner wall, not necessarily in the centre, they built the pagoda either solid or hollow in structure. Hollow-pagodas seemed to be more popular as they provided four walls on which the scenes from the *Jātaka* could be painted as decorations. Moreover, the paintings were the most striking and effective means of convincing the common folk of the merit of giving alms and of meditation. Right in the centre of the hollow-pagoda, was the relic chamber. The relics were encased and four images of the Lord were placed back to back around that encasement so that pilgrims coming to the shrine from four directions might find a semblance of the Lord who showed them the way to nirvana. Mostly the images were gilt, thus glimmering in the poor light of the oil-lamps against the background of the dark cave-like construction of the shrine. In the vicinity of the shrine a depository for the Law written on palm leaves was built. A preaching hall and an ordination hall would also be added to the premises. The chief monk of the establishment would probably get a separate building within the inner wall. In the outer compound were the buildings for the monks, the lay devotees, store houses and accomodations for the slaves of the establishment. In fact many of these establishments served as educational institutes and as such they have remained until the present day in Burma.

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1. Professor Pe Maung Tin connects this word with သဗ္ဗိ which Halliday's *Mon-English Dictionary*, p. 444 gives as "putridity" and therefore it would mean "lavatory." See *JBRS*, XXVI, i, p. 56. Professor G. H. Luce suggests a "staircase." See *BRSFAP*, II, p. 370, n. 110. But Pl. 310b inscription mentions that 36 posts of *samaruiw* are given to the monastery. This nullifies both lavatory and staircase. See also Pl. 18[5], Pl. 105a[14], Pl. 163[7], Pl. 271[40].

2. Pl. 277[1-9]

Some Important Pagodas of Pagan (Map III)

I. Nyaung-u East Circle

1. Sudaungbye
2. Paungdaw-u
3. Chaukpahla
4. Shwethabeik
5. Thetkyamuni
6. Kyaukgu Onhmin
7. Yatsauk
8. Hnasingu
9. Thamihwet Onhmin
10. Hmyathat Onhmin
11. Hngetpyittaung
12. Gawdama
13. Gawdama Zedi
14. Paunglè Onhmin
15. Shweminwun

II. Nyaung-u West Circle

1. Shwezigôn
2. Shinbinyanza
3. Thahtaygu
4. Shwe Zedi
5. Ngamyethna
6. Nyaung-u Theinmazi
7. Myatheindan
8. Theinmathu
9. Lawkahmangin
10. Shitmyethna
11. Shinmathi
12. Shinbinnan
13. Shwegu
14. Letpyagu
15. Chedawya

III. Wetkyi-in Circle

1. Payani
2. Mohnyinshwekyaung
3. Oktamagyaw Okkyaung
4. Bidagat
5. Kyanzittha Onhmin
6. Tazaungkyaung
7. Gubyaukgyi
8. Khemawaya

IV. Taungbilèya Circle

1. Shwekungya
2. Shwethabeik
3. Myazigôn
4. Upalithein
5. Htilominlo
6. Einyagyaung
7. Eindapyitsaya
8. Shwekyaung-u
9. Kyin
10. Bidagat Taik
11. Minhmyawyaza
12. Min-o-chantha
13. Hnakyeikshitsu
14. Ledatkyaung
15. Ananda

V. Pagan Myoma Circle

1. Bu
2. Sawhlawun
3. Bawdhi
4. Atwinsigôn
5. Gawdawpalin
6. Pasittôk
7. Shwegugyi
8. Thabyinnyu
9. Sithupahto
10. Pahtothamya
11. Nwabyagu
12. Sinbyagu
13. Shwesandaw
14. [illegible]ni Ama
15. [illegible]ni Nyima
16. Gubyaukgyi
17. Theinmazi
18. Pénatha
19. Mingala Zedi
20. Gubyaukngè
21. Myazedi
22. Aggade
23. Manawhayaza
24. Nan
25. Abèyadana
26. Mèdawyat
27. Kyazin
28. Nagayôn
29. Somingyi
30. Seinnyet Nyi-ama
31. Sawlugôn
32. Lawkananda

VI. Nanthu Circle

1. Maungyôngu
2. Izzagawna
3. Winido
4. Asawlat
5. Hnasingu
6. Nandamyinnya
7. Dayinpahto
8. Thambula
9. Minwaing
10. Tatkale
11. Tayôkpye
12. Amana
13. Lebathmauk
14. Malabyit
15. Malônbyit
16. Letputkan
17. Sulamani
18. Damayangyi
19. Sinbyushin
20. Sawhlawun
21. Sabwèhmauk
22. Lemyathna
23. Anaukhlègu
24. Myaukhlègu
25. Anaukzanthi
26. Ashezanthi

VII. Pwazaw Circle

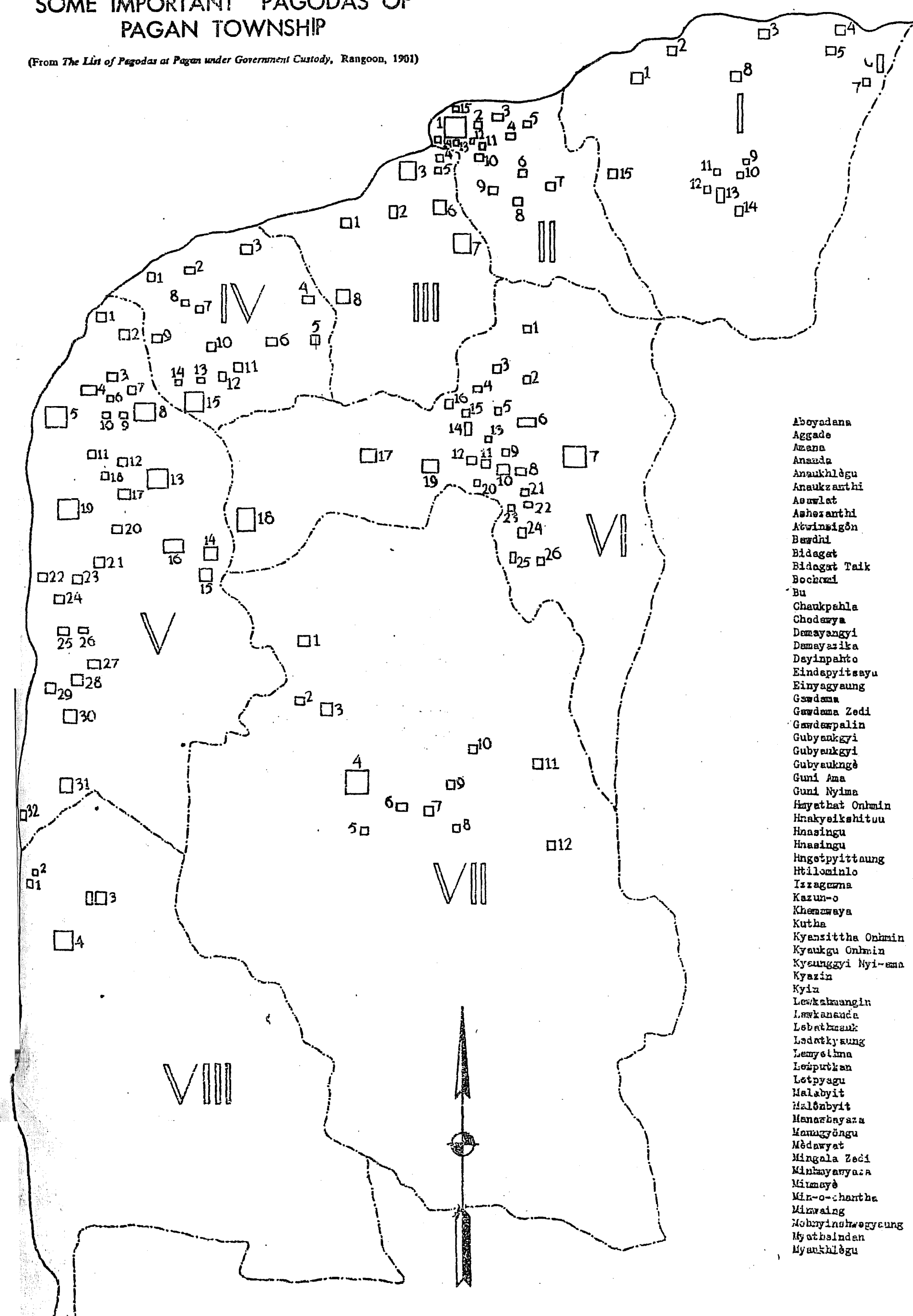
1. Thamuti
2. Kutha
3. Peinnè
4. Damayazika
5. Thein
6. Thitmahti
7. Thitsawadi
8. Minmayè
9. Sudaungbyè
10. Thanbyanzwa
11. Zeyaput
12. Kazun-o

VIII. Twinywa Circle

1. Thayawade
2. Bochomi
3. Kyaunggyi Nyi-ama
4. Sedana

MAP III
SOME IMPORTANT PAGODAS OF PAGAN TOWNSHIP

(From *The List of Pagodas at Pagan under Government Custody*, Rangoon, 1901)



CIRCLES

I NYAUNG-U EAST CIRCLE
II NYAUNG-U WEST CIRCLE
III WETKYI-IN CIRCLE
IV TAUNGBILEYA CIRCLE
V PAGAN MYOMA CIRCLE
VI NANTHU CIRCLE
VII PWAZAW CIRCLE
VIII TWINYWA CIRCLE

I N D E X

Aboyadana	V	25	Mya Zedi	V	21
Aggade	V	22	Myazigôn	IV	3
Amana	VI	12	Nagayôn	V	28
Ananda	IV	15	Nan	V	24
Anaukhlègu	VI	23	Nandamyinnya	VI	6
Anaukzanthi	VI	25	Ngamyethna	II	5
Asawlat	VI	4	Nwabyagu	V	11
Ashezanthi	VI	26	Nyaung-u Theinmazi	II	6
Atwinsigôn	V	4	Oktamagyaw Okkyaung	III	3
Bawdhi	V	3	Pahtothamya	V	10
Bidagat	III	4	Pasittôk	V	6
Bidagat Taik	IV	10	Paungdaw-u	I	2
Bochomi	VIII	2	Paunglè Onhmin	I	14
Bu	V	1	Payani	III	1
Chaukpahla	I	3	Peinnè	VII	3
Chodawya	II	15	Pènatha	V	18
Damayangyi	VI	18	Sabwèhmauk	VI	21
Damayazika	VII	4	Sawhlawun	V	2
Dayinpahto	VI	7	Sawhlawun	VI	20
Eindapyitsayu	IV	7	Sawlugôn	V	31
Einyagyaung	IV	6	Sedana	VIII	4
Gawdama	I	12	Seinnyet Nyi-ama	V	30
Gawdama Zedi	I	13	Shinbinnan	II	12
Gawdawpalin	V	5	Shinbinyanza	II	2
Gubyaukgyi	III	7	Shinmahti	II	11
Gubyaukgyi	V	16	Shitmyethna	II	10
Gubyaukngè	V	20	Shwegu	II	13
Guni Ama	V	14	Shwegugyi	V	7
Guni Nyima	V	15	Shwekungya	IV	1
Hmyathat Onhmin	I	10	Shwekyaung-u	IV	8
Hnakyeikshituu	IV	13	Shwominwun	I	15
Hnasingu	I	8	Shwesandaw	V	13
Hnasingu	VI	5	Shwethabeik	I	4
Hngetpyittaung	I	11	Shwethabeik	IV	2
Htilominlo	IV	5	Shwe Zedi	II	4
Izzagawna	VI	2	Shwezigôn	II	1
Kazun-o	VII	12	Sinbyagu	V	12
Khemaweya	III	8	Sinbyushin	VI	19
Kutha	VII	2	Sithupahto	V	9
Kyansittha Onhmin	III	5	Somingyi	V	29
Kyaukgu Onhmin	I	6	Sudaungbye	I	1
Kyaunggyi Nyi-ama	VIII	3	Sudaungbye	VII	9
Kyazin	V	27	Sulamani	VI	17
Kyin	IV	9	Tatkalè	VI	10
Lawkahmangin	II	9	Teyôkpye	VI	11
Lawkananda	V	32	Taxaungkyaung	III	6
Lebathmauk	VI	13	Thabyinnyu	V	8
Ledatkyaung	IV	14	Thahtaygu	II	3
Lemyethna	VI	22	Thambula	VI	8
Leiputkan	VI	16	Thamikwet Onhmin	I	9
Letpyagu	II	14	Thamudi	VII	1
Malabyit	VI	14	Thanbyanzwa	VII	10
Malônbyit	VI	15	Thayawede	VIII	1
Manazbayaza	V	23	Thein	VII	5
Manugyôngu	VI	1	Theinmathu	II	6
Mèdawyat	V	26	Theinmazi	V	17
Mingala Zedi	V	19	Thetkyamuni	I	5
Minhmyanyaza	IV	11	Thitmahti	VII	6
Minmayè	VII	8	Thitsawadi	VII	7
Min-o-chantha	IV	12	Upali Thein	IV	4
Minwaing	VI	9	Winido	VI	3
Mohnyinshwegyaung	III	2	Yatsauk	I	7
Myatbalndan	II	7	Zeyaput	VII	11
Myaukhlègu	VI	24			

CHAPTER X

THE SLAVES OF MEDIEVAL BURMA

A careful study of the position of slaves gleaned from contemporary inscriptions reveals to us the astounding fact that there was no obvious difference in the social life of a slave from other common people. He was always attached to a piece of land. Most of them were agriculturalists but there were others with vocations such as blacksmith, carpenters, musicians, dancers, etc. As these slaves were of different races we have reference to Mon slaves, Indian slaves and so on. Sometimes they were even classified as widows, family-heads, literates, sucklings, etc. Thus from a close study of the slaves we derive a fairly good picture of the social life of the Pagan period.

Kywan is the Burmese world for slave. From the evidence of the medieval Burmese inscriptions, we know that Buddhism exercised a great deal of influence on the Burmese way of life and thought. The average person understood that life is full of miseries and that everybody is enslaved by greed, anger and bewilderment i.e. *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha* until the time when he is able to free himself from such bondage and attain *nirvana*. Thus in a sense everybody is a slave and will always remain so until *nirvana* is reached. Therefore *Singhasūra* a minister of King *Cañsū* II, in A.D. 1190 made a dedication in the belief that would help towards his salvation and said:

raṁmak kywan aphlac mha teñ taw lhan luiw rakā[1]

which Professor G.H. Luce translates: "I want to rebel against this world of slavery to appetite."[2] Although the word "rebel" is used here, what the minister had in mind was a spiritual revolution which involves a series of self-denials of worldly pleasure. Anyway, for the time being he recognized himself as a slave of all enjoyments.

It would not be improper here to point out that although the word "kywan" is generally translated as "slave" and implies menial service by a person to another, a Burman of the medieval times understood it not in the same way as it is now commonly understood when the mention of slavery recalls to the mind the American plantations. If slavery to him was what the early 19th century humanitarians understood and did their utmost to abolish as being one of the most undesirable institutions of mankind, he would not have voluntarily turned himself into a slave as the following illustration[3] will show:

// saṅkrī Ray Kheṅ mliy saṅkrī Ñā Cway Saṅ sā / saṅkrī Satyā tū // saṅkrī Ābhīnantasū // amañ kā Ñā Krī kuiw le lhū e,.// saṅkrī Pān Rāṅ sā saṅlyaṅ sam mīya kuiw le lhū e, / samī krī kuiw le lhū e; samī ṅāy momma kuiw le lhū e, // kuiw mīyā sā nhac yok apoṅ 4 yok pur-hā lhū ruy e, //[3]

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1. Pl. 10a28
2. *JBRS*, XXVI, iii, p. 135
3. Pl. 610-15

I, *Ṅā Krī*, (also) known as *Saṅkrī Ābhīnantasū*, son of *Saṅkrī Ṅā Cway Saṅ*, nephew of *Saṅkrī Satyā* and grandson of *Saṅkrī Ray Kheṅ* dedicate myself. My wife, the daughter of *Saṅlyaṅ* the son of *Saṅkrī Pān Rāṅ*, (I) dedicate. My elder daughter and my younger daughter the *moṅma* are also dedicated. Thus after dedicating (as slaves) to the pagoda myself, my wife and my two children, altogether four, I write this inscription.

A minister of *Tarukpliy* called *Gaṅgābijañ* made images of the Lord in silver, bronze and marble, mainature stupas of gold, silver, sandalwood, ivory, etc. and enshrined them in a hollow-pagoda. He gave twenty six works on *piṭaka* and built two big monasteries and three sheds for the monks. He also performed the *kathina* ceremony. To these meritorious deeds he added:

> *// sā yokkyā sā miyma 2 yok kuiw le skhiṅ lak e, 3 phan thū tumi e, //*[1]
>
> I gave three times into the hands of the Lord my two (children)—son and daughter.

Another illustration of this type is found in an inscription dated A.D. 1248. Princess *Acaw Krwam Skhiṅ* daughter of King *Uccanā* and Queen *Sumlūla* said after dedicating 3,779 pay of land and 1,250 slaves:

> *...ayaṅ tuiw, mruiw, ṅā le rutanā 3 pā so, kywāṅ te //...// īy mhya so ratanā suṁ pā kā ṅā asak hiy sa yhuy kā ṅā lup klwañ sate ṅā kanthā pyāk kha ruy asak achuṁ nhuik te rok kha mū kā // īy ṅā lup // klwañ e, suiw ṅa sā nhac yok klwañ ciy sate //*[2]
>
> ...Besides these (slaves), I also am the slave of the three gems (i.e. the Lord, the Law, the Order)...As regards these three gems, as long as I live I serve. At the end of my life when this body of mine is destroyed, may my two children serve them as I have served.

Another donor *Ṅā Kraṁ Lhok Saṅ* dedicated in A.D. 1244 two slaves and thirty toddy palms to the pagoda and said:

> *// ī than 30 sa kā ṅa asak hi sa yhuy ṅā klwañ sate // ṅā te atañ may mu kā // ī ṅ miyā nhaṅ sā 2 yok // ṅa kuiw cā purhā nhaṅ kloṅ ā klwañ rac ciy sate//*[3]
>
> With these thirty toddy palm trees, I feed while I am alive. After my death, may my wife and two children carry on serving the pagoda and the monastery on my behalf.

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1. Pl. 308[29]
2. Pl. 164[52], [47-9]
3. Pl. 207[5-4]

King *Cañsū* II once dedicated as slaves his three children by Queen *Uiw Chok Pan* to the pagoda built by his teacher *Mahāthera Dhammavilāsa* but later he redeemed them by dedicating thirty *pay* of land in their stead.[1] Another king *Putasin Man* whom unfortunately we cannot identify sent men and money from Burma to effect repairs of the religious buildings at Budh Gaya in India and left an inscription in Burmese recording that the repairs were finished on Sunday, 13 October 1298 and that "two children as one's own off-spring" were dedicated as slaves there.[2] If a king could turn his children or children whom he regarded as his own into slaves, it evidently means that becoming a pagoda slave in those days was not a degradation in the social status. Apart from this evidence of king's children dedicated as slaves, we have had three examples–firstly an executive officer and a minister, secondly a princess and thirdly a commoner who dedicated themselves and their families as pagoda slaves which prove that slavery to those old Burmans did not mean the cruel thing we know. It savoured neither of the slave raids in Africa nor the licentiousness of an organised slave trade where well trained slaves were sold as luxury goods nor the degradation in social status of modern Burmese pagoda slave who in almost the same way as the untouchables of India are considered social outcasts. Broadly speaking, there are five causes for slavery—firstly, birth i.e. hereditary; secondly, sale of children by their free parents and insolvent debtors; thirdly, captives of war; fourthly, piracy and kidnapping; and fifthly, commerce, i.e. systematic slave trade. Now in the light of the above evidence we have just discussed, we should add another cause—voluntary.

For hereditary slaves we have ample evidence. In almost every inscription where the list of slaves appears, we have the mention of family groups. Sometimes a phrase like *lan miyā sā cum*[5]– husband, wife and children is used to denote that the whole family has been turned into slaves and such phrases as *sā can mliy can*[4] or *sā chak mliy chak*[5] – meaning from son to grandson in a line or a chain, is added to make it clear that their descendants will also be considered slaves. Sometimes a list of names is ended with this phrase *ty kā achuy kywān te*[6] to signify that the persons mentionded above are all related to each other. Some other phrases that occur frequently in the inscriptions to dedote that the whole group belongs to a slave family and indirectly that their descendants will also be counted as slaves are *apha sā 1 up*[7] (father and children one group), *amisā ta up*[8] (mother and children one group) *amisā*[9] (mother and child), *sā apha 2*[10] (child and father together two), *sā ami 2*[11] (child and mother together two) and *im thon*[12] (the family group). Sometimes *im thon*[13] simply means domestic servants but mostly when this phrase occurs it means the whole family of slaves. For example,

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1. Pl. 34[10]
2. Pl. 299[9-14]
3. Pl. 417[10]
4. & 5. Pl. 164[31-32]
6. Pl. 149[5]
7. Pl. 18[11]
8. Pl. 153b[11]
9. Pl. 153a[25], Pl. 164[26]
10. Pl. 277[7]
11. Pl. 227[11]
12. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 190a (*passim*), Pl. 200[4,25,26], Pl. 256[4], Pl. 376[5], Pl. 557b[5], Pl. 598b (*passim*)
13. Pl. 181[5,7,10]

// kū krī nhuik lhū so kywan kā im thoṅ Ṅā Nantā 1 *miya krī Pi Lhū* 1 *smī Khyatsanā* 1 *smī Manī mithuy Binī* 1 *ñima Thani* 1 *mayā ṅay Pa Lhū sā Ṅā Nattaw* 1 *nhama Mittī* 1 *// im thoṅ Paw* 1 *miyā Jottā* 1 *smī Kawarī* 1 *smi Ui, Kroṅ* 1 *urī Hatā* 1 *// Rwāsā* 1 *sā Ṅā Phlu* 1 *// Sunū* 1 *smi Maṅkī* 1 *smī Ratanī* 1 *ñīma Canī* 1 *// apoṅ yokyā miyma cuṁ* 21 *//*[1]

As for the slaves dedicated to the big hollow-pagoda they are the family of *Ṅā Nantā*, senior wife *Pi Lhū*, daughter *Khyatsana*, daughter *Manī*, mother's younger sister *Binī*, younger sister *Thani*, junior wife *Pa Lhū*, son *Ṅā Nathaw*, sister *Mittī*; the family of *Paw*, wife *Jottā*, daughter *Kawarī*, daughter *Ui*, *Kroṅ*, mother's elder brother *Hatā*; *Rwāsā* and son *Ṅā Phlū*; *Sunū* and daughter *Maṅkī*, daughter *Ratanī*, younger sister *Canī*. The total of male and female slaves is 21.

Thus a slave community appeared and every new child born into that community was considered a slave. Perhaps they used the word *sapok*[2] for a person born of slave parents. Eventually slave villages came into existence as *kyon rwā luṁ*[3] – the whole village of slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1223; *kloṅ kywan rwā*[4] – the village of monastery slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1235, *Ṅhak Pluiyaw Tuiṅ kywan rwā akun*[5] – the whole slave village of *Ṅhak Pluiyaw Tuiṅ* in an inscription dated A.D. 1242; simply *kywan rwā*[6] – the slave village in a dedication of Lord *Kaṅkasū*'s wife in A.D. 1242; *wat khlak rwā*[7] – the rice cooking village meaning that the villagers were all slaves to the nearby monastery and that they served it as cooks. This appears in the dedication of one of the queens of *Tarukpliy* made in A.D. 1266 and lastly the famous Gubyaukgyi[8] inscription of Prince *Rājakumār* mentioned the three slave villages of *Sakmunalon*, *Rapay* and *Henbuiw*.

Naturally owners considered slaves as part of their estates that could be handed down from father to son, or could be bought or sold or used in settling of debts[9] which often led to disputes and law suits for ownership.[10] Perhaps to avoid disputes at a later date, judges were called upon to witness the transfer of ownership[11] which was duly registered, signed and sealed.[12] *Amuy kywan*[13] – the inherited slaves is the term used by *Ṅā U Lyoṅ* to describe eleven slaves whom he inherited from his aunt *Yaptaw sañ Khyat Ma*, the concubine of King *Cañsu* I. When Prince *Gaṅgāsūra* the son of King *Cañsū* I by Queen *Vataṁsikā* or

1. Pl. 190a5-8
2. Pl. 182a21, Pl. 19322-5, Pl. 543a50, Pl. 597c5,11
3. Pl. 518
4. Pl. 127a3,4
5. Pl. 140b9
6. Pl. 1458
7. Pl. 215b18
8. The *Rājakumār* Inscription. Pl. 36250-2
9. Pl. 39315 (*Samā Ṅay* handed over four slaves to the donor in settlement of a debt.)
10. Pl. 748-20, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79ab
11. Pl. 56b6-9
12. Pl. 778,10
13. Pl. 75a3, Pl. 39226

Ūchokpan died, perhaps without any children to inherit his property, his elder brother Prince *Rājasūra* took a portion of his estate, undoubtedly leaving the major portion in the hands of the widow, the daughter of *Noṅ Ram Krī*. The widow, recorded in A.D. 1242 that

> *//atuiw skhiṅ maṅ Kaṅkāsū pyaṁ tau mū prī so amuy hu skhiṅ noṅ maṅ Rājāsū yū liy so Mraṅ kī kywan...10 kip//*[1]
>
> When our lord Prince *Gaṅgāsūra* died, by inheritance, our lord, the senior brother Prince *Rājasūra* took ... 10 slaves of *Mraṅkī*.[2]

We have quite a number of cases where the inheritance is in the descending order. For example, we have the following descriptive phrases about the slaves: *ami mha lā so kywan kā*[3]– as for theslaves from mother; *apha mha lā so kywan kā*[4]–as for the slaves from father; *aphuiw kā la so kywan*[5] – slaves from grandfather; *ṅā mi ṅā ā coṅ ma kywan hū piy so*[6] – slaves given by my mother to help me; *ari ṅā ā piy so*[7] – slaves given by my father's sister and *ṅā mi ṅā pha ka lā so kywan*[8] – slaves from my mother and my father. But we have also records where the persons concerned were very anxious to make known to the outside world that the slaves in their possession were not inherited. It will not be uninteresting at this point to consider a few examples where explicit mention is made that the slaves in question were not part of the inherited property but that the owner had earned them by sheer hard work.

A lady called *Ui Plañ Cuṁ Saṅ* making a dedication in AD. 1233 said:

> *īy kywan 7 yok sā kā ami lā so kywān le ma hut apha lā so kywan le ma hut ṅa laṅ Ṅa Koṅ Saṅ nhaṅ ṅa tī si mu ruy ra so kywān te*[9]
>
> These seven slaves are not the slaves from mother nor from father. My husband *Ṅā Koṅ Saṅ* and I got them as the fruit of (our work).

Ṅā Maṅ Saṅ and wife said in A.D. 1238:

> *//īy kywan kā ami apha amuy mahut cwaṁ// laṅ myā (dharani) mū ruy, ra so kywan te//*[10]
>
> These slaves are not inherited from our parents. We, the husband and wife got them by bring them up.

In A.D. 1242, a rich man *Ṅā Mlhok Saṅ* said:

> *// ṅa phuw ka ṅa phiy ka lā so ṅa mi ṅa pha ka lā so kywen le ma hut ṅā chuw ṅray to sī mū ruy, ra so//kywen te*[11]
>
> These slaves are not from my great grandfather, my grandfather, my mother or my father. I underwent hardships to get them.

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1. Pl. 144^{17-18}
2. This exercise of the right of inheritance by an elder brother would not be welcomed in Burma to-day, for when a Burman Buddhist dies without children, the widow inherits the whole estate. This incidence of an elder brother inheriting some of the slaves of his younger should be regarded as an exceptional case.
3. $212^{5, 8}$
4. Pl. $212^{8, 12}$ Pl. 150^4
5. Pl. 88^4
6. Pl. $120a^{2-5}$
7. Pl. $120a^5$
8. Pl. 150^2
9. Pl. 70^{6-8}
10. Pl. 129^{7-9}
11. Pl. $141b^{5-7}$

A rich lady *Ui, Kraṁ Khyaṅ Saṅ* and husband dedicated eleven slaves to the image at the hollow-pagoda that they built in A.D. 1231 and said:

> *// ī anhac laṅ miyā ṅ ī ruy, lhū so kywan kā ṅā tuiw ami apha amuy kywan le ma hut // ṅā tuiw amlyuiw 7 chak mha lā so amuy kywan le ma hut anhac laṅ miyā chuiw ṅray lup ruy, ra so kywan nhaṅ.nhaṅ te //*[1]
>
> These slaves that we-the loving couple, have agreed to dedicate are not the inheritance begotten from our parents nor from our ancestors of seven generations. They are entirely the produce of our labour.

Slaves of another loving couple are described as:

> *moṅ nhaṁ nhac yok chuiw ṅray paṅ pan mū ruy ra so kywan*[2]
>
> Slaves begotten through hardship and toil by the loving husband and wife.

Another rich lady in A.D. 1248 said about her slaves:

> *// ami apha mha lā so kywan le ma hut // ṅā chuiw ṅray luṁ la mū ruy ra so kywan te //*[3]
>
> (These) slaves are not from mother or father. I got them through hardship and and endeavour.

Different from the above mentioned examples is the man who received four slaves on his father's death but was made answerable for his father's debts. So he declared:

> *// īy 4 yok so kywan sañ-kā apha kywan hū ruy akhlañ nī lhyaṅ piy sa ma hut // apha mrī khapay lhyaṅ chap ruy ra sate //*[4]
>
> As for these four slaves, they are not given over to me for nothing just because they are my father's slaves. I got them after repaying all my father's debts.

A gentleman went even to the extent of claiming that he got his slaves by virtue of his merit by saying *ṅā wīra lum, la sataṅ suṁ ruiy, e, ra so kywan te.*[5] Except for monks and religious establishments who receive their slaves as donations, slaves owned were either part of their inherited property, or acquisitions through buying or settling a debt or from success in a law suit. If buying slaves was possible, there must have been same form of a recognised slave trade, which we will discuss later.

As for the insolvent debtor who has to give himself up as a slave to his creditor, we have the following illustration. There was a *piysmā* (palmleaf maker) called *Ṅā Tañ, Saṅ* (Mr. Upright). Perhaps he was a master palmleaf maker with many assistants and slaves. As fate would have it, he went bankrupt in A.D. 1227. In order to appease his many creditors he went to *Anantasūra*, one of the ministers of King *Nātoṅmyā* (1211-31) with the following terms:

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1. Pl. 157[16-19]
2. Pl. 1606[3-5]
3. Pl. 161b[10-12]
4. Pl. 204a[6-9]
5. Pl. 572a[24-5]

> *|| atuiw kywan pyak cī chaṅ ṅray kha e, || īy miyā ṅā smī 2 yok ṅa skhiṅ kywan so phlac ciy khlyaṅ || ... || atuiw, kywan pyak cī chaṅ ṅray kha ruy, || pliy phaṅ kha so kywan tuiw, le hi e, sū mrī yū ruy, mrī sañ mrī nhaṅ, ma tan tay, rup liy so kywan tuiw, le hi e, iy mhya so kywan khapaṅ kā ṅa skhiṅ myā lhyaṅ piy sate || su lak twaṅ hi so mhya le thut ciy khlyaṅ e, || su utcā tuiw, chap ryā sa le chap ciy khlyaṅ e,*[1]

> (My Lord!) We, your slaves, are ruined and (made) miserable. These, (my) wife and my two daughters, (I) want them to become your slaves, My Lord ... As your slave is ruined and made miserable, there are many slaves who have fled and who hesitate (i.e. they will also flee sooner or later). Some are already given up to settle debts but there are not enough to settle all debts. I give you and your wife the remaining slaves. (It is my) request that you redeem those who are now in others' possession and settle all our debts.

Thus the bankrupt master palmleaf maker made his family and his slaves the slaves of the minister *Anantasūra*.

We have no direct evidence for war captive slaves nor for slave raids. But we have three examples which we may connect slavery with war. In the Great Shwezigon inscription in old Mon, we find that the enemies of Pagan who were presumably the Mon of lower Burma took some of its citizens downstream as captive. But they were later freed and restored to Pagan through the might of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* probably just before he took the Pagan throne in A.D. 1084.[2] In another instance we find that *Asaṅkhyā*, a minister of King *Ṅātoṅmyā*, described some of his slaves in A.D. 1216 as:

> *|| īy kywon (13 sa kā) maṅ Siṅkhāpicañ phlac so Pyaṁkhī sā plac pā ruy Taway lyac so || Pukaṁ rok khyla(ṅ hū ruy ra) so Calaṅ kywon te || Phun Sañ Asaṅkhyā maṅ pan rakā Pyaṁkhī sā le Pukaṁ rok e, || Pukaṁ rok (so) Phun Sañ Asaṅkhyā Pyaṁkhī sā kywon ra sate ||*[3]

> As for these thirteen slaves they are *Calaṅ* slaves of the son of (Prince) *Pyaṁkhī* who joined in the sin (i.e. rebellion) of Prince *Siṅkhāpicañ* and (?fled) to *Taway*. (As he) wanted to return to *Pukaṁ* the honourable *Asaṅkhyā* asked pardon from the king. *Pyaṁkhī*'s son therefore came back to *Pukaṁ*. On reaching *Pukaṁ* the slaves of *Pyaṁkhī*'s son were handed over to the honourable *Asaṅkhyā*.

With this information it is possible to reconstruct the scene as follows. *Ṅātoṅmyā* the son and successor of *Cañsū* II was born of a lesser queen. Therefore he would have had less claim to the throne than his half brothers born of royal mothers. Perhaps *Cañsū* II made him his successor because of some outstanding ability superseding other sons of more princely blood. This probably caused a great deal of resentment because soon after *Ṅātoṅmya*'s accession many rebellions broke out which he suppressed with the aid of his five ministers

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1. Pl. 79a$^{1-15}$, Pl. 79b^{32}
2. *Ep. Birm.*, I, ii, IB $^{25-8}$, pp. 116-17
3. Pl. 42$^{15-16}$

one of whom was *Asaṅkhyā*. When peace was restored *Nātoṅmyā* rewarded his ministers handsomely for their services. As his share *Asaṅkhyā* received the estates of *Pyaṁkhī*'s son who was implicated in *Siṅkhapicañ*'s rebellion and had fled to *Taway*. Owing to *Asaṅkhyā*'s intervention the King pardoned him and allowed him to return to Pagan. But his estate was confiscated and as we have said bestowed on *Asaṅkhyā*.

We have a similar story[1] when King *Klacwā* (1235-? 49) succeeded his brother to the throne. Perhaps his nephews (the late king's sons) disputed the succession. Two brothers *Siṅhapikram* and *Sirivadhanā* rebelled and were defeated but they escaped. On Sunday, 8 June 1236, when King *Klacwā* was giving an audience at *Kwan Prok N̄ay* – the Small Variegated Hall, *Siṅhapikram*'s wife requested the king to forgive her husband and allow him to return to Pagan. The king forgave the prince but confiscated his "slaves, fields and gardens" and gave them to Queen *Caw*[2], very possibly the queen of his predecessor and brother King *Narasiṅgha-Uccanā* (?1231-5).

From the above we gather that the king confiscated slaves of rebels and gave them away to whomsoever he pleased and therefore these slaves cannot be classed as war captives turned into slaves, but they may safely be termed spoils of war.

There are a few direct evidences of the slave trade in our period. The donors making dedication of slaves to religious establishments very often mentioned the prices they paid for the slaves. *N̄ā Khyat Saṅ Myak Mañ* bought eleven slaves in A.D. 1214 and gave the datails as

> ... *kywan yokyā krī 7 yok // yokyā ṅay 4 yok apoṅ kywan 11 yok aphuiw ṅuy 330 khin piy e, //* [3]
>
> (For the price of) seven adult male slaves (and) four young male slaves altogether 11 slaves three hundred and thirty of silver are weighed and given.

This gives us an average price of thirty ticals of silver for a male slave. In A.D. 1223 the same gentleman bought another four slaves at the price of 120 ticals of silver [4], and one at 35 ticals of silver.[5] Then he made a real bargain when he bought seven slaves for 140 ticals. It was recorded as :

> *Toṅplun hi so panthyan, ṅī sā ta up so kuiw aphuiw ṅuy 140 piy so* [6]
>
> the whole group of brothers and sons of the goldsmith living at *Toṅplun* at the price of 140 silver.

In exchange for his boat *Kramū* [7] he received from the *Sukhamin*, the *Saṅkri* of *Sacchim* the slave *N̄ā Khyaṁ*.[8] Lastly he bought nineteen slaves at 570, i.e. 30 ticals each.[9]

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1. Pl. 234^{31-4}
2. Mother of King *Uccanā* and grandmothers of King *Tarukpliy*
3. Pl. $75a^{4-6}$
4. Pl. $75a^{22-3}$
5. Pl. $75a^{30}$
6. Pl. $75a^{40-1}$
7. *Kramū*—areca palm (see *BRSFAP*, II, p. 352 n. 64)
8. Pl. $75a^{45-8}$
9. Pl. $75a^{57-0}$

Paddy and copper were also used as mediums of exchange in addition to silver in those days. Thus when in A.D. 1226 *Anantasū's* wife bought twenty slaves she said:

> *kywan 20 so aphuiw ṅuy khin piy so ṅuy kā ṅa kraṅ kriy phlū 300 ṅuy pyān 200 || apoṅ 500 khin piy e, ||* [1]
>
> (For the) price of twenty slaves 300 of *ṅa kraṅ* white copper and 200 of pure silver, together 500 are weighed and give .

In A.D. 1301 Queen *Caw* bought a potter *Ṅā Oṅ* and a gardener *Ṅā Koṅ* at thirty ticals of silver and twenty viss of copper respectively.[2] As *kappikā* – personal attendant, to the most reverend *Mlat Krī Ṅhakpactoṅ* she bought *Ṅa Kuṁkay* paying twenty baskets of paddy and three viss of copper for him.[3] We also find that sometimes slaves were given away in exchange of elephants and horses. In A.D. 1164 a gentleman *Krañ Caṅ* gave sixty six Indian slaves in exchange for an elephant and forty for a horse.[4] It must have been an exceptionally good horse to have cost forty slaves. In A.D. 1230, the wife of *Supharac* gave fifty domestic slaves for an elephant.[5] In A.D. 1249, minister *Jeyyapikraṁ* recorded that he exchanged areca palm trees for some slaves at the rate of ten palms per slave.[6] A concubine from *Marhak* once (AD. 1243) dedicated her slaves to a pagoda and after reflection she dedicated one hundred ticals of pure silver to the pagoda as the price of a slave woman whom she had already dedicated and then wanted to set free.[7] But we cannot say that one hundred ticals of silver is the standard rate of redemption. The pious lady was buying the slave from the pagoda and it is almost certain that she was being very generous and charitable. When the slave *Ṅā Oṅ Caṅ* who was fortunate enough to save money and redeemed himself, he paid his master *Ṅā Muṁ San* five viss of copper and became a free man in A.D. 1253.[8] As it is not unusual even to-day in Burma a donor *Rammanā Saṅ* in his zeal to amass merit spent beyond his means and found himself unable to pay the wages of the sculptor who made the image of Buddha. Thus he had to sell one of his slave women in A.D. 1272. It went on record as:

> *Iw Lat kuiw purhā plu so purhā samā kuiw lakkha acā asok ṅā roṅ ruy pẏ sate*[9]
>
> I sell *Iw Lat* in order to give food and drink and wages to this image maker.

So a slave would cost approximately from twenty to thirty five ticals in silver or five to twenty viss in copper or twenty baskets of paddy plus three viss of copper, while fifty to sixty six slaves are exchanged with an elephant, forty with a horse and one with a boat. A slave could redeem himself for a little as five viss of copper but the price for redeeming a

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1. Pl. 774-5
2. Pl. 392[11-12]
3. Pl. 392[50]
4. Pl. 94b[13, 14]
5. Pl. 156[3-4]
6. Pl. 175[16, 17]
7. Pl. 151[18]
8. Pl. 182a[18-19]
9. Pl. 238[19]

pagoda slave varied enormously. It depended upon the generosity of the redeemer. Though there is no direct evidence of large scale sale of slaves there must have been such instances because we find certain donors dedicating as many as 500 Burmese slaves, 500 Indian slaves, 116 Indian weavers, 850 *Mani Sak* slaves, etc.[1]

We have some instances of runaway slaves. *Ṅa Khyat Saṅ* whom we have mentioned above, said in one place that he originally intended a dozen slaves for the pagoda but unfortunately one escaped and therefore only eleven were left.[2] But when his dedication was put on record he stated the grand total dedicated to the pagoda as twelve. Perhaps he was hopeful of recapturing the slave or may be he thought that his intention of dedicating the slave amounted to a fact. In A.D. 1222, when *Anantasūra* and wife dedicated their garden at the port (*saṅphawchip*) of *Yanpuiw* together with Indian slaves to the pagoda, they summed up thus.

> *apoṅ ūyān hi so Kulā krī ṅāy cuṁ 28 pliy so 2 || apoṅ 30 hi e, ||*[3]

> All Indian slaves both old and young at the garden numbered 28; two (had) escaped. Total 30.

The fact that runaway slaves were recorded in the total of slaves dedicated would suggest that whenever and wherever they were found out they would have to be returned to the establishment to which they belonged.

The lot of slaves does not seem to have been too hard and coupled with it was their probable reluctance to move away from their localities. Slaves were never taken away from their native places and were allowed to follow their own trade or profession. We have no evidence of transferring slaves from place to place. Usually they were attached to the land in their locality[4] or in the case of professionals, people of the same vocations were grouped together.[5] Cowherds remained with their cows in their usual pastures[6]. It was only ownership that changed. Towards the end of the dynasty, in A.D. 1266 a whole group of Indian slaves at *Yanpuiw* was recorded as having escaped.[7] *Yanpuiw* was a port and therefore perhaps was within easy reach of the sea. This proximity to the sea may have tempted them to escape and an uneasy policical situation at that time must also have been an added cause. We find mention of two more slaves escaping and in both cases, strange to say the runaways were widows.[8] A mother also escaped with three daughters.[9]

Merciful owners is one of the outstanding feature of Pagan slavery. When a donor[10] in A.D. 1198 dedicated 567½ *pay* of land and 228 slaves to the pagoda the majority of these

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1. See Pl. 19b[8], Pl. 164[21], etc.
2. Pl. 75b[36]
3. Pl. 76[10]
4. Pl. 216 (*passim*)
5. Pl. 144[22,23]
6. Pl. 138[15, 20]
7. Pl. 216[35]
8. Pl. 376[19, 21]
9. Pl. 148a[10]
10. Pl. 19b[9-11]

worked on the lands and served the pagoda with the produce of the said land, but there were also slaves who were skilled artists. They were the leader of the group who was the general supervisor, the firewood cutter, the granary keeper, the dancer or singer and the drummer who in their own skilled ways served the pagoda. To prevent them from going hungry and probably to keep them from the ill usage of the majority, the donor made special provisions for them. Out of the 567½ *pay* of land dedicated ten were for the supervisors, five for the granary keeper, five for the singer and three for the drummer.

In A.D. 1241 Queen *Caw* mother of *Siṅghapati* and *Tryāphyā* dedicated 260 *pay* of land, two gardens and 178 slaves to the pagoda.[1] She left detailed instructions regarding the food supply for slaves who were not connected with the land – the four night-watchmen of the hollow-pagoda and some musicians. They were provided with 135 baskets of paddy annually and thus each got roughly three quarters of a basket except for an old *cañsañ* (drummer) and an old *pantyā* (? nautch) who got two baskets each. This shows the donor's kindness and care for details.

The wife of Prince *Gaṅgasūra*, making a dedication of 511½ *pay* of land in A.D. 1242 mentioned that 15 *pay* were for the slaves.[2] Another Queen *Caw*, mother of Prince *Rājasūra* dedicated slaves to the monastery in A.D. 1291 and said:

> *// cā chwaṁ nhuik lup kluy so kywan tuiw le phyā nā uiw mañ kha so kā skhiṅ aryā tuiw si mrañ ciy sate //*[3]
>
> When any slave who cooks the daily food for the monks become sick or ill or (feeble with) old age, the monks must know and see (i.e. give proper treatment.)

This is the best security a man could desire against his old age and inability and the Pagan slaves had that security.

There is another piece of evidence showing the liberal mindedness of the slave owners of our period. Very often we find *rahan*[4] (monk), *pancañ*[5] (? a person who is proficient in the five requisite qualifications) and *bhikkhunī*[6] (a female ascetic) mentioned among lists of slaves. The only explanation we can think of with regard to their presence in the lists of slaves is that they were born of slave parents. The Buddhist Order recognized no class distinction and therefore they could not be slaves as well as members of the Order at the same time. They must have had the permission of their masters first before joining the Order perhaps with the understanding that if and when they left the Order they become slaves again. May be that is why their names were included in the slave lists so that in case they left the Order, they would not be able to deny their birth. Minister *Gaṅgābijañ* allowed two adults and twenty children of his slaves to become monks and novices and set free ten debtor slaves.[7]

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1. Pl. 138^{30-6}
2. Pl. $147b^{21}$
3. Pl. 275^{28-9}
4. Pl. 7^{9}, Pl. 174^{55}, Pl. 200^{22}, Pl. 211^{5}, Pl. 256^{7}, Pl. 308^{55}, Pl. 376 (*passim*), etc.
5. Pl. 146^{5}, Pl. 226^{15}, Pl. $232^{6,8,9}$
6. Pl. 89^{27}, Pl. 92^{14}
7. Pl. 308^{51-5}

There were also equally broadminded slave owners who set their slaves free out of sheer kindness. In A.D. 1258 a rich man *Ña Tuiñ Pañ Sañ* dedicated nine slaves to the pagoda first and then said:

> *Tawli 1 yok // Sarabhī 1 yok // Ya Krwac ī y kywan 3 yok kā alwat lhyañ ñā lhwat kha sate //* [1]
>
> I release from all bonds these three slaves (viz.) *Tawli, Sarabhī* and *Ya Krwa* (Miss Casket).

Princess *Acaw Lat*, daughter of King *Narasiṅgha-Uccanā* and wife of minister *Jeyyasaddhiy* built a hollow-pagoda in A.D. 1261 and dedicated sixty eight slaves to it. But she also gave another list of fifteen slaves and said:

> *...ī y mhya sa kywan kā phurhā tryā saṅkhā tuiw kuiw le ma lhū lañ sā achuy amlyuiw tuiw kuiw le ma piy ñā asak hi sa rhuy kā lup ciy so ñā ma hi mu kā mrak nu riy krañ hi rā lā ciy sate // ... // ī ñā lhwat so kywan tuiw kuiw le lai 1000 piy e //* [2]
>
> These slaves—I do not dedicate them to the Lord, the Law and the Order. Nor do (I) give them to (my) husband, children, relatives and friends. May they serve me while I am alive. After my death, they are allowed to go where there is tender grass and clear water[3] ... To these slaves whom I had given liberty, I give one thousand *pay* of land.

One cannot help feeling that the princess was exceptionally kind and considerate as she not only freed her slaves but also provided for them. In A.D. 1238, *Ñā Puik Sañ* and wife in the presence of notables of the village poured the water of libation and allowed a person 'to seek tender grass and clear water.'[4] *Tryā Mwan*'s wife in A.D. 1267 used the same phrase and set free 190 slaves.[5] A donor after dedicating eight slaves to a pagoda in A.D. 1294 said to the slaves:

> *noñ khyaṁ sā nuiw ka niy ma khyam sā nuiw ka mrak nu riy krañ, hi ra rā lā*[6]
>
> (After a while) if you still hope of comfort by remaining like this (i.e. as pagoda slaves), stay. If you lose hope of comfort seek tender grass and clear water.

So saying he left the matter entirely in the hands of the slaves. They could seek freedom whenever they wished. With ample funds provided by the rich donor and only an image

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1. Pl. 191a$^{15-16}$
2. Pl. 201a$^{9-11, 14}$
3. The use of the phrase *mrak nu riy krañ* meaning to seek places where there is tender grass and clear water suggests rather vaguely that the phrase was a relic of the nomadic past.
4. Pl. 210a$^{3-4}$
5. Pl. 217$^{9-10, 28}$, Pl. 218a^{1}
6. Pl. 280a$^{9-11}$

to look after, they decided, perhaps, to remain slaves for ever. That way of life was comparatively easy.[1] Another interesting point that we have noticed in this connection is in an inscription found at the Kyaukgu Onhmin and dated A.D. 1188 in which we read :

> // *Uttamapharac nhaṅ maṅ miya Uin Ñay Cwan kuiw khwaw ruy mlay taṅ kup lhyaṅ thuy taw khla e maṅkrī min e klok cā twaṅ amaññ hiy so purhā kywan kā sā mliy acin khapaṅ lwat ciy sate* //[2]

> *Uttamapharac* and *Uin Ñay Cwan* the concubine, are summoned (into the royal presence) at *mlay taṅkup*- the earth pavilion, and the royal order is passed. The great king said "Pagoda slaves mentioned by name in the stone inscription and their children, grandchildren and posterity, are all released."

This is a royal order to set free pagoda slaves dedicated by others[3].

From the above evidence we are under the impression that the lives of pagoda slaves were not unbearable but it is necessary to study their duties before coming to a definite conclusion. Therefore let us now turn our attention to the duties of slaves who were dedicated to pagodas or monasteries. In A.D. 1197, *Jeyyasețhiy* dedicated 141 slaves to a pagoda and a monastery, in order that *sambut wat* // *chīmi wat ma prat cim, so ṅhā*[4] – rice food and oil lamps be served without intermission. Slaves whose special duty was to cook rice or food at the monasteries were known as *samput khyak kyon*[5] or *wat khyak kywan.*[6] In A.D. 1223 minister *Anantasūra* and his wife made a religious establishment and desired that it should remain for all the five thousand years of the Religion. Therefore slaves were didicated that

> // *anhac kuiwcā akha mlaṅ, mlay plu phā rac cim, so ṅhā* // *tanlaṅ lhañ cim so ṅhā* // *purhā tryā nhuik samput* // *chimī kwaṁ pan* // *ma prat taṅ rac cim, so ṅhā* // *sañ khaṁ so skhiṅ ariyā tuiw, kuiw chwaṁ pan lup khwañ rac cim' so ṅhā* // 7

> they may go on forever doing the necessary repairs (at the establishment); to sweep the compound; to go on serving the Lord and the Law without intermission with rice food, oil lamps, betel and flowers; to go on serving the patient reverend monks with the flowers of rice food on behalf of the loving couple.

As seen in the above quotation when slaves were dedicated to the pagoda, the donors expressed the desire that they serve the Lord on their behalf by using the phrase *ṅā kuiw cā* or *mimi kuiw cā*[8]. Minister *Mahāsman* in A.D. 1255 defined the duties of the slaves of a monastery as:

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1. There are many pagoda slaves especially of the Pagan area, who not without reason believed themselves to be the descendents of the pagoda slaves from the period under discussion and elected to remain so when the British came and brought with them the abolition of slavery.
2. Pl. $228b^{14-15}$
3. Incidentally, one of the first measures taken by the President of the Union of the Republic of Burma in 1948 immediately after independence was to declare all pagoda slaves free. See "Address by His Excellency Sao Shwe Thaike, President of the Union of Burma, to the Members of the Burma Parliament on 4 January 1948", *Burma Independence Celebrations*, Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of the Union of Burma, 1948, pp. 15-17.
4. Pl. 16^{4-5}
5. Pl. 50^{22}
6. Pl. 186^{20}, Pl. 229^{21}, Pl. 239^{9}, Pl. 417^{9}
7. Pl. 73^{50-51}. See also Pl. 80^{21-2}, Pl. 164^{8-9}, Pl. 197^{7}, Pl. 235^{7-9}
8. Pl. 99^{9-10}, Pl. 152^{8}, Pl. 164^{52}, Pl. $236a^{9,10}$, Pl. $238^{8,9}$, Pl. 248^{11}

> *// ī y mhya sa kywan kā aryā saṅghā tuiw kuiw khriy (chiy riy) lak chiy riy khliw riy (sok) riy khapsim so ñhā wat khyak cim so taṁmyak khliy klum̀ cim̀ so ñhā lhū sate*[1]
>
> These slaves are to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and water to drink. They are (also) to cook the rice food, and to sweep and remove the refuse.

In A.D. 1262, a donor dedicated a *laksamā*[2] – carpenter and another a *panphay*[3] – blacksmith, to repair a ruined monastery. Another donor dedicated eleven slaves in the same year so that they may be useful when repairs were needed at his religious establishment.[4] The duties might vary slightly in detail between the slaves who were attached to the pagoda[5], the Law[6], the Order[7], and the *sīma*[8]. Some of the slaves were personal attendents to the head of the monastery.[9]

Apart from the slaves of the religious establishments, we also find the mention of domestic helps who were variously termed as *īm kyawan* [10], *īm thoṅ kywan* [11] and *īm niy*[12]. Slaves of the royal household are called either *kywan taw*[13] or *maṅ īm krī sañ.*[14] The mention of a slave wife is very rare and we find it only twice as *kuiw lup*[15] and *kuiw lup kywan miyma.*[16]

Another interesting thing about the slaves in the inscriptions is the terms used to describe them. When giving a list of slaves, whenev·r it is necessary short descriptions appear such as *īm thoṅ* for the head of the family, *kamāy*[17] for a widow, *Ya*[18] as prefix for woman of Mon extraction, *pucu*[19] for young people, *nuiw, cuiw,*[20] for sucklings, *cātat*[21] for literates and *sami apluiw ṅay*[22] for a young unmarried daughter. There are some terms used as prefixes to the names of both sexes and unfortunately we are still unable to give the right interpretation. They are *mhura*[23], *mrakra*[24], *phut*[25], and *uiw, phukhi.*[26] Tentatively, we consider them as overseers or foremen of working groups as *mhura* and *mrakra* suggest that they were employed for some work.

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1. Pl. 186^{27-8}
2. Pl. 261^{7-8}
3. Pl. 261^{24}, Pl. 262^{25}
4. Pl. 225^{6-7}
5. Pl. 9^{5}, Pl. $22^{18,21}$, Pl. 50^{7-14}, Pl. $61^{8,20}$, Pl. $114a^{7-9}$, Pl. 130^{3-5}, Pl. $131b^{9}$, Pl. 139^{6-9}, etc.
6. Pl. 42^{28}, Pl. $190a^{8}$, Pl. 229^{19}
7. Pl. $114a^{7-9}$, Pl. $127a^{5}$, Pl. 164^{15}, Pl. $190a^{9-11}$, Pl. 202^{22}, Pl. $212^{17-18,20}$, Pl. $214b^{1}$, etc.
8. Pl. 212^{15-16}
9. Pl. 229^{20}
10. Pl. $156^{3,4}$
11. Pl. $181^{5,7,10}$
12. Pl. $228b^{9}$
13. Pl. $228b^{5,6,7}$
14. Pl. $421a^{2}$, Pl. $421b^{15,17}$
15. Pl. $140b^{14}$
16. Pl. $140b^{14-15}$
17. Pl. $4^{7,25}$, Pl. $73^{42,45}$. Pl. $200^{25,26}$, Pl. $256^{8,13,15}$, Pl. $375^{13,17}$, etc.
18. Pl. $4^{7,15}$, etc.
19. Pl. 7^{9}, Pl. 73^{56}, $148a^{21}$, Pl. $255^{5,14,15}$, Pl. 391^{7}
20. Pl. 22^{9}, Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. $74^{2,7}$, Pl. $148a^{8}$, Pl. 181 (*passim*) Pl. 194 (*passim*), etc.
21. Pl. $7^{8,9}$, Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. $148a^{21}$, Pl. 181 (*passim*), Pl. $201a^{1,2,4,6}$, Pl. $256^{8,10,15}$, etc.
22. Pl. 270^{11}
23. Pl. $73^{51,52,53,56}$, Pl. $148a^{21}$, Pl. $201a^{1,6,7}$, Pl. $256^{9,14}$, Pl. 376 (*passim*)
24. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 75 (*passim*), etc.
25. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. 74 (*passim*), Pl. 200 (*passim*), etc.
26. Pl. 73 (*passim*), Pl. $201a^{5}$, Pl. $256^{7,10,12,15}$, Pl. 375^{54}, Pl. 376 (*passim*), etc.

Regarding literacy among slaves, let us take three inscriptions dated A.D. 1227,[1] 1235[2] and 1240[3] where the mention of *cātat* (literates) appears more frequently than in any other inscriptions. In the first inscription we find 78 slaves among whom 9 were literate (five boys and four girls). In the second, there were 116 slaves of whom 8 were literate (only boys). In the third, there were 140 slave of whom 17 were literate (13 boys and 4 girls). Therefore very roughly we should say that 9 per cent of the slaves were literate in those days. It is interesting to note that there were girls among the literates of which they formed a quarter. It is likely that the percentage of literacy increased towards the fall of the Pagan empire.

Slaves were of various nationalities. Naturally most of the slave population consisted of Burmans[4]. Sometimes slaves mentioned as of other nationalities had Burmese names. Next to the Burmans comes the Indian slaves.[5] A donor in A.D. 1198 dedicated to the pagoda as many as five hundred Indian slaves. A slave called *Kulāphlū*[6] – white Indian, appears once. One hundred and twenty eight *Kaṁraṁ*[7] slaves were dedicated in A.D. 1223. But *Kaṁraṁ* here may not possibly be the name of a people. Thus we are not certain that *kaṁraṁ* here has been used in the ethnic sense. In a list of slaves recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1242 there were thirty one *Cakraw*[8] slaves from *Caku.* Perhaps they were the ancestors of modern Sagaw Karens. There were also *Sak* people who still survive in Akyab district. A whole village of *Sak* called *Munalon* was dedicated in A.D. 1113 according to the *Rājakumār* inscription[9] and eight hundred and fifty *Sak* slaves were mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1248.[10] Thirty *Cin*[11] slaves are dedicated to a pagoda in A.D. 1266 and perhaps there is a link between this *Cin* and the Chinese. Slaves called *Ṅā Toṅ Su*[12] (Mr. Hillman) appear frequently but *Toṅ Sū*[13] slaves are only mentioned twice. *Ṅā Rakhuiṅ*[14] (Mr. Arakanese) is a popular name among the slaves. A *Syaṁ*[15] slave is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1301. *Pyu* appears often but we find only one instance of a *Pyu* woodcutter[16] as slave in an inscription. *Kantu*[17] is also popular as a personal name mostly among woman slaves but it does not appear in its ethnic sense. *Ya* is a Mon prefix denoting a Mon woman's name and there are some names beginning with *Ya.* They seem to be Mon slaves. The last in our list are the *Krwam*[18]– thought to be Cambodians. It mostly appears as a personal name

1. Pl. 73
2. Pl. 181
3. Pl. 376
4. Pl. 19b[8], Pl. 65b2, Pl. 89[1], Pl. 147b[11], Pl. 164[21], Pl. 368b[5], etc.
5. Pl. 10[19], [20], Pl. 15[12], Pl. 19b[6], Pl. 50[12], Pl. 65b2, [5], [14], Pl. 68b[22], Pl. 76[4], [10], Pl. 81[1], [12], etc.
6. Pl. 43[12]
7. Pl. 94a[58]; see Luce: "Peoples of Burma", *JBRS*, XLII, i, 73.
8. Pl. 147b[15]; see Luce: "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages", *JBRS*, XLII, i, 1 & 11.
9. Pl. 362a[50]
10. Pl. 164[21]
11. Pl. 216[35]
12. Pl. 4[16], Pl. 21[16], Pl. 77[14], Pl. 130[14], Pl. 252[12], Pl. 378b[4]
13. Pl. 392[17], Pl. 393[15]
14. Pl. 15[27], Pl. 42[10], Pl. 43[9], Pl. 117a[6], Pl. 231b[14]
15. Pl. 392[26]
16. Pl. 393[5]
17. Pl. 29[4], Pl. 144[13], Pl. 148b[8], Pl. 392[10], [28], [51]
18. Pl. 10a[24], Pl. 29[10], Pl. 55a[7], Pl. 216[55],[58]

except in inscriptions dated A.D. 1241[1] and A.D. 1266.[2] Thus the slave population of our period had Burmese, ? Cambodian, ? Chinese, Indian, Kadu, Kanyan, Karen, Mon, Pyu, Shan, Taungthu and Thet but the Burmese and Indian slaves formed the majority.

The survey of the slaves of medieval Burma will not be complete without a study of their vocations. Undoubtedly land, cattle and slaves[3] went together. For example King *Tarukpliy* gave *mliy 1000 // kywan 1000 // nwā 1000*[4] - one thousand (*pay* of) land, one thousand slaves and one thousand cattle to his wet nurse *Ui Poṅ Saṅ* soon after his accession to the throne. The vast majority of the slaves would be employed on *san lay* - wet cultivation fields, *muryaṅ lay* - dry cultivation fields, *ryā* - hill-side cultivations, *kuiṅ* - kitchen gardens and *uyan* - gardens. But there were also slaves with vocations and these throw some light on the social life of the period. Their professions roughly fall into five categories. Firstly, there are agriculturalists - cultivators, cowherds, etc.; secondly, food suppliers such as cooks; thirdly, craftsmen; fourthly, musicians; and fiinally, miscellaneous.

In the first category of agriculturalists, *lay sañ*[5] or *lay su*[6] - cultivators, tops the list. Then there are *lay uyan coṅ, kywan*[7] - slaves watching fields and gardens, *capā cuik kywan*[8] - slaves to plant paddy and *uyan sañ*[9] - gardeners. Next comes slaves who look after cattle and poultry and for convenience sake we include here herders of other animals as well. They are *nwā thin,*[10] *klway thin,*[12] *chit thin,*[13] *chaṅ thiṅ,*[14] and *waṁpay thin.*[15] Queen *Caw* in A.D. 1299 proudly mentioned that among the slaves dedicated to the pagoda was a *nwā kloṅ cwaṁ*[16] - expert cowherd, called *Ṅā Lyoṅ*. The mention of *nwā kloṅ* taken in conjunction with other references to *thawpiy, thawpat, thawpat kī, nwā nuiw sañ, nuiw ñhat nwā mā, nuiw sac* and *nuiw thaṁm*[17] would strongly suggest that dairy farming was a fairly important industry of the day.

In the second category, there were food suppliers such as cooks, butchers, milkmen, etc. Old Burmans used separate people for cooking rice and for cooking curry and thus they had

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1. Pl. 138[19]
2. Pl. 216[56]
3. Pl. 20a[1,5,6,7,8,10], Pl. 34[4], Pl. 83[6-7], Pl. 91[14], Pl. 104[7], Pl. 110[5-6], Pl. 115[8], Pl. 123[5], etc.
4. Pl. 218a[4,7], Pl. 219b[4,7]
5. Pl. 193[26]
6. Pl. 110[7]
7. Pl. 75a[53]
8. Pl. 75a[55], Pl. 175[2], Pl. 200[21,27]
9. Pl. 76[2,10], Pl. 181[20], Pl. 235[1,4], Pl. 392[11]
11. Pl. 138[15,20], Pl. 144[11], Pl. 152[22], Pl. 203[10], Pl. 388a[12], Pl. 423[59]
12. Pl. 73[47]
13. Pl. 153a[19], Pl. 153b[6], Pl. 394[4], Pl. 582b[5]
14. Pl. 76[23,25,24,26], Pl. 217[24], Pl. 257[21]
15. Pl. 183a[12]
16. Pl. 390[35]
17. Pl. 36[18], Pl. 94a[55], Pl. 134a[4], Pl. 235[9], Pl. 376[54], etc.

thamaṅ sañ[1] – rice cooks and *haṅ sañ*[2] – curry cooks. Perhaps, these slaves were attached to big monastic establishments so that cooking rice alone required an army of slaves. For the domestic cook they had *īm thamaṅ khyak.*[3] To supply meat they had *amay sañ*[4] or *may sañ*[5] – butchers, *sācuiw*[6] – keepers of game and *muchuiw*[7] – hunters. *Puik sañ*[8] or *kwan sañ*[9] – net men supplied fish. For sweetmeats, there were *nwā nuiw, sañ*[10] – the milkmen and *yana, pyāsañ*[11] – the honey men. Chewing betel was a regular practice and perhaps demanded specialized service.[12] They had *kwaṁ sañ*[13], *kwaṁ tau sañ*[14], *kwaṁ si tañ*[15] and *kwaṁ mwan taw sañ*[16] as servers of *kwaṁ yā*[17] – betel quids.

The third category included craftsmen who were builders and decorators of the beautiful Pagan architecture. They were *laksmā*[18] – carpenters, *tacañ sañ*[19] – plane men *puran*[20] – masons, as builders; *panpu*[21] – woodcarvers, *pankhi*[22] – painters, *panpwat*[23] – wood-turners, *taṅkyat sañ*[24] – ? canopy makers as decorators; *ut sañ*[25] – brickmakers to supply bricks; *panphay*[26] – blacksmiths to supply things made of iron and *athu sañ*[27] or *purhā sañ*[28] – image makers to supply the images of the Lord. *Thī sañ*[29] – umbrella makers manufactured golden umbrellers to spread over the images, etc. These builders, suppliers of building

1. Pl. 36[18], Pl 391[51,52], Pl. 417[12]
2. Pl. 36[18], Pl. 391[50,51]
3. Pl. 110[6]
4. Pl. 391[55,55]
5. Pl. 153a[22], Pl. 153b[10]
6. Pl. 36[19]
7. Pl. 71[7], Pl. 148a[14]
8. Pl. 7[9]
9. Pl. 267[4]
10. Pl. 36[18]
11. Pl. 36[18]
12. See *BRSFAP*, II, p. 352, n. 64.
13. Pl. 391[55,54]
14. Pl. 476[15]
15. Pl. 229[18]
16. Pl. 742[8]
17. Pl. 139[11]
18. Pl. 81[12], Pl. 261[7]
19. Pl. 102[14], Pl. 391[55], Pl. 392[24]
20. Pl. 682[2], Pl. 81[52], Pl. 144[5], 147b[19]
21. Pl. 682[2], Pl. 81[8], Pl. 144[5]
22. Pl. 682[2], Pl. 144[5]
23. Pl. 144[4,12], Pl. 392[19], Pl. 575[2,11]
24. Pl. 194[27]
25. Pl. 594[15]
26. Pl. 682[2], Pl. 78a[7], Pl. 102[14], Pl. 153a[11], Pl. 261[25], Pl. 413[10,11]
27. Pl. 392[11]
28. Pl. 391[5]
29. Pl. 148b[5,8,9]

materials and decorators must have been very busy as the period under survey is sometimes called the period of temple-builders. There were also *panthin*[1] – goldsmiths to make jewellery as well as the spires of temples and pagodas where precious metals and stones were used.

Some artisans made articles of daily use. For pots and pans, there were *uiw thin*[2] – potters, *kara sañ*[3] – jug makers and *lanpānsañ*[4] – tray makers. For making clothes, there were *khrā sañ*[5] and *khrañ ṅay sañ*[6] – spinners, *pukhrañ sañ*[7] – loincloth makers, and *yansañ*[8] weavers. They wove such as *kawthā*, *khaṅnhi*, *khruykhaṁ*, *tankyat*, *tanmī prok*, *tuyaṅ*, *pukhrañ*, *puchuiw*, *sakkham*, *saṅkan*, *saṅpuiṅ*, etc.[9] There were also *sānāphway*[10] which Professor G. H. Luce suggests were chairmakers. Chairs being not in popular use until European influences were felt in Burma, perhaps it meant cushion makers.

In the third category of musicians, which included players of various musical instruments, the drummers seems to be the most common. Singing and dancing to the drum could have been the most popular musical entertainment that the old Burmans resorted to because there were more slaves employed as *cañ sañ*[11] – drummers and *pantyā*[12] – nautches (singers or dancers or both) than any other musician. For singing alone, they had *sikhraṅ sañ*[13] – the singers and for dancing alone, they had *kakhriy sañ*[14] – the dancers. Other musicians were *kharā sañ*[15] – trumpeters, *khwakkhwaṅ sañ*[16] – cymbal players, *candra sañ*[17] – ? dulcimer players, *coṅ sañ*[18] – harpists, *ñhaṅ sañ*[19] – another group of trumpeters together with those who blew *tapuiw*[20] – horns and *narañ crā*[21] – some sort of wind instruments, *noṅnaṅ sañ*[22] – bell players, *pasā sañ*[23] – side drummers and *saro sañ*[24] – ?violinists.

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1. Pl. 32[2], Pl. 75a[40]. Pl. 144[12], Pl. 387a[9], Pl. 393[5]
2. Pl. 392[11]
3. Pl. 216[50]
4. Pl. 164[25,29]
5. Pl. 391[56].
6. Pl. 391[54], Pl. 393[29]
7. Pl. 392[50]
8. Pl. 148b[5,6], Pl. 164[21], Pl. 194[49], Pl. 216[53], Pl. 217[19,25], Pl. 250[1], Pl. 390[24], Pl. 391[15,22], Pl. 393[6,28]
9. Pl. 28a[17], Pl. 28b[20], Pl. 362[5], Pl. 73[15], Pl. 79o[22,51], Pl. 97[18,19,20,22], Pl. 138[13,14], Pl. 212[14], Pl. 309[54], Pl. 372[11], Pl. 393[19,28]
10. Pl. 105a[24]. See *JBRS*, XLII, i, p. 72
11. Pl. 9[8], Pl. 10a[17,20,22], P.. 15[11], etc.
12. Pl. 5[8,10,15], Pl. 9[6], Pl. 10a[19,21], etc.
13. Pl. 3[18], Pl. 85[9], Pl. 421b[4]
14. Pl. 15[12], Pl. 31[4], Pl. 39[14]
15. Pl. 68[22]
16. Pl. 10a[19], Pl. 17[19], Pl. 138[10,56], etc.
17. Pl. 85[9]. See U Po Lat: "Union Culture: Its Sources and Contacts," *Burma*, III, i, October 1952, pp. 4-5.
18. Pl. 265[35]
19. Pl. 81[21], Pl: 396b[19]
20. Pl. 367a[5]
21. Pl. 138[8,31,35]
22. Pl. 17[19], Pl. 367a[5]
23. Pl. 10a[18], Pl. 17[20], Pl. 73[58], etc.
24. Pl. 387a[5]

Lasly, there were slaves of various other vocations. They were *alay sañ*[1] – ?brokers, *uphway sañ*[2] – coiffeurs, *ka sañ*[3] – harness makers, *kuhā sañ*[4] – launderers, *cākhī*[5] or *cāriy*[6] – clerks, *cī coṅ*[7] – keepers of the granary, *chā sañ*[8] – salt makers, *chañ chum sañ*[9] – oil producers, *thaṅ sañ*[10] – wood cutters, *nagā krañ sañ*[11] – ? armourers, *pi sañ*[12] – ? salted fish makers, *phattā sañ*[13] or *bhaṇḍā sañ*[14] – ? stewards, *muchit rip*[15] – barbers, *mloṅ mliy sañ*[16] – ? canal diggers, *rakan sañ*[17] – ? poets, *riy sañ*[18] – water carriers, *lak sañ*[19] – midwives, *lak sañ thuiw*[20] manicurists, *lhañ sañ*[21] – cartmen, *lhawkā sañ*[22] – boat men, *saṁkok sañ*[23] – blacksmiths, and *saṅryaṅ sañ*[24] – palanquin bearers.

Slavery in medieval Burma is different from the modern concept of slavery. Slaves of those times must have found their lot tolerably comfortable. The presence of voluntary slaves explains this. In addition to these voluntary slaves, there were heriditary slaves, debtor slaves and war captive slaves. We have however, no evidence to show the presence of slave raids, piracy and kidnapping. The slave community was considerable and therefore there were slave villages with their own administrative officers as *sūkrī*[25] – headmen to control the village, *kumthāṁ*[26] – to supervise cultivation and *saṅkrī*[27] and *saṅlyaṅ*[28] as village elders. Ownership of slaves often changed but generally the slaves were allowed to remain in their own locality. Perhaps this was one of the causes why runaway slaves were rare. To gain liberty a slave could redeem himself or run away. There is no mention of cruel laws in connection with runaway slaves. The slaves appear to have been quite contented with their lot and the masters were merciful. Some owners set them free and even gave them land

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1. Pl. 422a(iii)[5]
2. Pl. 387a[5]
3. Pl. 79b[8], Pl. 89[15] (*mraṅ ka samā*)
4. Pl. 81[17], Pl. 144[14], Pl. 148b[3,9,10], Pl. 392[17,51]
5. Pl. 422[8], Pl. 892[1], Pl. 156[6]
6. Pl. 144[6]
7. Pl. 19b[10], Pl. 68[19], Pl. 140b[1] (*kī coṅ*), Pl. 379[5], Pl. 391[20] (*ki sañ*)
8. Pl. 216[33]
9. Pl. 370[51] (*chañ sañ*), Pl. 391[26] (*chi sañ*), Pl. 417[12]
10. Pl. 392[12], Pl. 393[5]
11. Pl. 421b[6]
12. Pl. 79b[8], Pl. 252[12], Pl. 253a[5]
13. Pl. 392[9]
14. Pl. 74[15]
15. Pl. 395[30]
16. Pl. 423[30,51]
17. Pl. 216[45]
18. Pl. 392[5]
19. Pl. 79b[7]
20. Pl. 79b[8], Pl. 387a[2]
21. Pl. 392[24]
22. Pl. 376[4,8,10,13,14,24]
23. Pl. 138[52]
24. Pl. 148b[3,6,8], Pl. 275[19]
25. Pl. 892[2], Pl. 148b[11]
26. Pl. 68[19]
27. Pl. 25[8], Pl. 43[14]
28. Pl. 73[49], Pl. 74[4], Pl. 226[23]

21 - U.P. Q.144. 1000. 23.8.78.

to cultivate so that they may not be without a livelihood. Some owners even made special provisions for old or sick slaves. Slaves were allowed to become monks and nuns. The mention of a slave wife is very rare. Perhaps taking slave wive was unpopular. Slaves were also taught to read and write and very roughly we find that about nine per cent of them were literate. Various nationalities were found among slaves but Burmans and Indians were most numerous. The majority of the slaves were used for cultivation but there were also many who were employed in various other ways. There were domestic slaves, pagoda slaves and monastery slaves but this differentation is not of status but of ownership. It is only in modern times that the pagoda slaves were considered as social outcasts.

APPENDIX I

THE LAND MEASURE

IN the inscriptions of our period, with the exception of a few cases where *ṅamuiṅ*[1] or *tamuiṅ*[2] are used we find that *pay* is the standard land measure. We do not know the area of a *pay* in the Pagan period but we do know the area of the Konbaung *pay* which is mentioned in the literature of the day.[3] The *Manu Kyay Dhammasat*[4] says that a *pay* is twenty *tā* square where one *tā* is seven cubits long. Another source says that it is twentyfive *tā* square.[5] *Krī:sai Lethap Charātoau* says that there are two kinds of *pay*, viz. *maṅ: pay* – the king's land measure and *chaṅ: raisā: pay* – the poor man's land measure (also known as *pakati pay* – the normal measure) and that the first is twice the latter.[6] King Bodawpaya left an inscription of about A.D. 1791[7] in Amarapura, together with two squares of masonry as a guide for land measures. They are about half a mile south east of the Arakan pagoda, Mandalay. According to Sir George Scott the *toṅ* – cubit engraved on the stone measures 19.05 inches.[8] Thus the *pakati pay* which is 25 *tā* square would be 1.77 acres. It is very likely that the *pay* used in our period is the same as the *pakati pay* of Bodawpaya's time.

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1. Pl. 242 (*passim*), Pl. 557b2. Perhaps it is a spoonrised Mon word *bhaṅ* meaning ridges in a paddy field like the Burmese *kansaṅ* :
2. Pl. 380[9, 11]
3. References mentioned here are kindly furnished by the Burmese Dictionary Department, School of Oriental and African Studies for which I am deeply grateful.
4. *The Dhammathat or the Laws of Menoo*, (Moulmein 1847) English Translation by D. Richardson, pp. 153-4; *Manu Kyay*, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1903, Part VI, Para xi, p.156
5. *Selections from the Records of the Hluttaw*, (Rangoon, 1960 Reprint) p. 257, n. 83
6. *Jinatthapakāsanī*, (Mandalay, 1923) pp. 398-9. See also J. C. Clancey: *Aids to Land Surveying*; Rangoon, BTS Burmese version, 1953, p. 23.
7. List 1261, *B*, I. pp. 1-2. See also G. Scott: *GUBSS*, I, ii, 167-8. Hmawbi Saya Thein Gyi suggests A.D. 1791 was the date of the inscription. *Pajat Rājawaṅ* (The By-ways of Burmese History), Rangoon, 1958 Reprint, p. 286
8. G. Scott : *GUBSS*, I, ii, 168

APPENDIX II

VOTIVE TABLETS OF BURMA

Votive tablets are a prolific source of the early history of Burma and as such serve as a complement to the material gained from epigraphs. Votive tablets have been found throughout Burma from as far north as Nwatale Ywazo near the confluence of the Irrawaddy and Shweli Rivers to as far south as Mergui. But until a large number of such tablets had been collected and a description of them together with facsimile reproductions were published a historical study based on them was not possible. Thus material from the votive tablets was not available at the time of writing or revising this book. But when this book was about halfway through the press Thiripyanchi U Mya, Officer on Special Duty, Archaeological Survey of Burma, published a book – *Votive Tablets of Burma* in two parts with the aid of the Asia Foundation.[1] Part I deals with the tablets of the Pagan period (118 illustrations) covering the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D. and Part II with tablets of the Pyu (90 illustrations) from about the 5th to the 11th centuries A,D. U Mya's reason for this reversal of the chronological order is that a knowledge of the Pagan tablets are necessary for the more difficult study of the Pyu ones.

Cetiya means a sepulchral monument but with its extended meaning it includes *sārīrīka* (bodily relics of the Buddha), *paribhoga cetiya* (a thing used by the Buddha), *uddissana* (a thing made sacred by dedication) and *dhamma cetiya* (a memorial in honour of the Law). *Uddissana* again is of many varieties – the images of the Buddha made in various postures as suggested by his life stories form the major kind of *uddissana* and so too are the votive tablets.

Clay tablets of the Buddha or Bodhisattva in relief made by means of moulds[2] are usually baked.[5] These moulds were either imported from India or made locally.[4] These tablets[5] probably originated from the pilgrims bringing back momentos from such places as Kapilavastu,[6] Budh Gaya,[7] Banaras,[8] Kusinagara[9] or any other place associated with the life of the Buddha. These souvenirs inspired the people of Buddhist lands outside India to make votive tablets locally as a means of acquiring merit. Most donors cannot cast bronze images or carve wooden or stone statues themselves with their own hands but they could make thousands of tablets by just pressing down the stamp on lumps of potter's clay and

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1. Rangoon University Press, September and December 1961
2. Some of these moulds are shown in U Mya: *Votive Tablets of Burma*, I, Figs. 114, 115, 116, 117 and 118.
3. In Thailand the tablets were not always baked. See G. Coédès. "Siamese Votive Tablets", (Tr. by W. A. Graham), *SSFACP*, I, (pp. 150-87) p. 156.
4. *ASI*, 1905-06, p. 170
5. Myepônpaya and Okkhwak in Burmese and Braḥ Bimb in Thai
6. The original home of the Buddha
7. The place of Enlightenment
8. The place where the first sermon was preached
9. The place of the great decease

write their names on the reverse together with the boon they craved as a result of these meritious acts. The act of pressing clay tablets perhaps gave them a great deal of personal satisfaction because they have done something directly for the Buddha – a satisfaction which they may not have had by just building a pagoda, monastery, etc. which was done by the hands of artisans. A Burmese record of Bodawpaya's time (1781-1819) mentions that the King made as many as 512,028 tablets to be enshrined in the relic chambers of four pagodas built at the four corners of the new royal city of Amarapura.[1]

Professor G. Coédès was of the opinion that the practice of making clay votive tablets was confined only to the Buddhists.[2] But seals and moulds of Brahmanical deities and symbols have been found –

Mahākālī from *Nālandā* of the late Gupta period[3] (6th century A.D.),
Śivaliṅga from *Kālañjara* in Bundelkhand,[4]
Śiva in the *Bhadreśvara* aspect also from *Kālañjara*,[5]
Gaṇeśa from *Nālandā*,[6]
Garuda from *Nalandā* of the reign of *Kumāra Gupta* I (c.415-54)[7] and
Mahiṣāsuramardinī cast from a mould belonging to the early Chalukya dynasty (550-642) found at Peshwar.[8]

The above mentioned finds prove that clay tablets were also used by devotees of Hinduism. Usually these tablets have some sort of writing on them.

The writing embossed on the obverse below the Buddhia's throne is mostly in a south Indian script on the 5th century A.D. or later. It is almost invariably the famous stanza uttered by *Assaji* when he told *Sāriputta* the keynote of the Buddha's teaching. It runs:

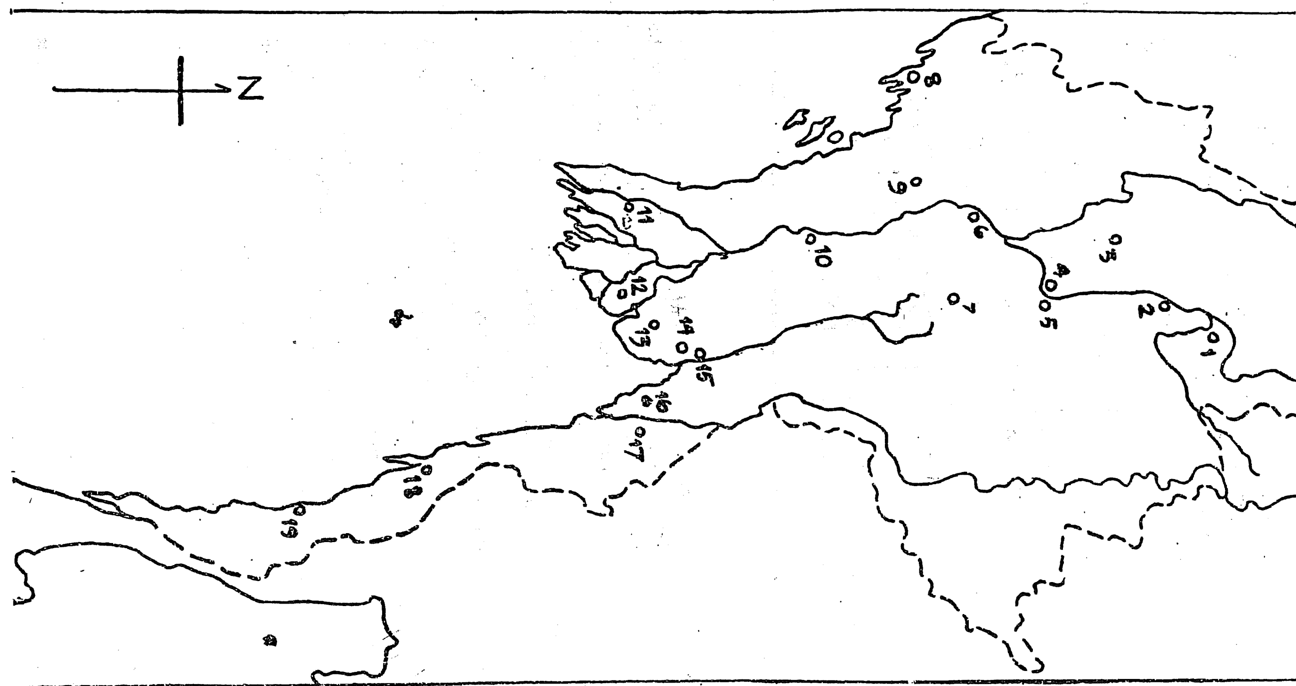
ye dhammā hetuppabuavā tesaṁ hetuṁ Tathāgato āha tesañ ca yo nirodho, evaṁvādī Mahāsamaṇo.[9]

The conditions which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause, also the way of suppressing these same: this is the teaching of the Grea. Ascetic.[10]

In this stanza we have the essence of Buddhism which had the power of converting *Sāriputta* to Buddhism. Perhaps this is the reason why it is used in propagating the Religion. The style of writing the letters in this stanza varied with the times and this coupled with the style of writing on the reverse mentioning the name of the donor helps one to ascertain the date of the tablet.

The Burma votive tablets belongs from the 5th to the 15th centuries A.D. Their find spots are shown in the accompanying map. The size and shape of these tablets vary very

1. *Ame:toauphre* (*Moṅ:thoṅ*'s Answers to the King's Queries). Mandalay, Jambū, mitchwe Piṭaka Press, 1961, p. 43
2. *SSFACP*, I, pp. 150-1
3. Jitendra Nath Banerjea: *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, 1956 Second Edition p. 187 and Pl. XI, no. 11
4. *Ibid.*, p. 183 and Pl. XI, no. 10
5. *Ibid.*, p. 184 and Pl. XI, no. 9
6. *Ibid.*, p. 187 and Pl. X, no. 12
7. *Ibid.*, p. 532 and Pl. XXVIII, no. 1
8. *Ibid.*, p. 500 and Pl. XLII, no. 1
9. *DPPN*, I, 224
10. *SSFACP*, I, 154



MAP IV

THE FIND SPOTS OF THE VOTIVE TABLETS: 1. Nwatale of Nga-O, 2. Tagaung, 3. Ye-U (Chantha), 4. Sagaing, 5. Mandalay, 6. Pagan, 7. Thazi (Sameitshe), 8. Akyab, 9. Salin (Phaunglin), 10. Prome (Hwawza), 11. Bassein 12. Twante (Sanywa), 13. Rangoon, 14. Pegu, 15. Wo (Kyontu), 16. Thaton, 17. Pha-an (Kawgun), 18. Tavoy, 19. Mergui

much. They range from 1½″ in diameter to 1′ 5″ × 2′ 7″ × 6″. There are about seventeen different shapes of which the most common is either the fig leaf (No. 3)[1] or the arched window (No. 10).[2] The seventeen are as follows:

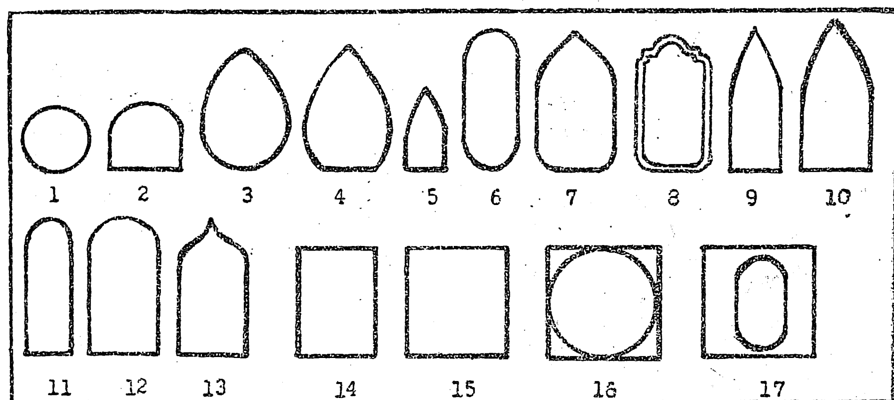


Fig. 1.

Out of 160 tablets surveyed 44 are of shape No. 3 (fig leaf) and 57 of shape No. 10 (arched window). No. 3 seems to have been very popular during Pyu times from the 5th to the 9th century and No. 10 in the Pagan period from the 10th to the 13th century. The third and fourth shapes in frequency (Nos. 1 and 2) are almost confined to the Pyu times. We find only one each from the later period. In size, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are much smaller than No. 10 which is about three times bigger. This indicates that people of the later periods preferred larger tablets. They even had some which were 1′5″ × 2′7″ × 6″[3].

The central figure of the tablet is usually the Buddha and the earliest known one is the relief on a silver reliquary with bodhi *maṇḍala* i.e. made in the shape of a bodhi tree standing on a circular mound, which has four sitting figures of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* (earth touching attitude) and four standing monks[4] – one Buddha between two monks. The upper rim of the reliquary has an inscription in the south Indian script of the 5th century and therefore it is taken to be of a relic of the 5th century.[5] But the reliquary is similar to those of Kanishka and Bīmarān[6] of the 2nd century A.D. though the folds of the robe are not as clearly visible on the Buddha of the Pyu casket as in the Kanishka one. The icon on the Pyu casket has a round face with plump cheeks, short neck and a massive body with only a slight protuberance for the *ushṇisha* (hairknot) and snail shells for the hair. The facial expression is quite different from those of the Pagan period.

1. 2″ × 3½″ *VTB*. I, 53
2. 5″ × 7½″ *VTB*, I, 50
3. *VTB*, I, 12ab
4. *VTB*, II, 1
5. *VTB*, I, p. 12
6. See Benjamin Rowland: *The Art and Architecture of India*. Pelican History of Art Series. 1936. Pl. 38ab

In contrast to the image of the Pyu period, a Buddha of the Pagan period[1] and the *taṁkai* (backpart of the seat) are described in detail by U Mya as follows.[2] The Buddha sits on a lotus seat in *dyānāsana* – crosslegged with both soles turned up and in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* – the earth touching attitude calling upon the Earth to bear witness or *bhay taṅ ñā khya* – the left arm folded with the right arm hanging down. The almond shape eyes look straight ahead. The nose is quite prominent but the stern expression of the face is softened by the smiling lips. The right arm extends downward with a slight bend at the elbow. The fiingers touching earth have varying lengths as those of an ordinary man. The palm of the left hand is spread between the two heels with a pleated end of the robe falling over it. *Ūrṇā* (the whorl of hair on the brow) is just a dot. *Ushṇīsha* (the protuberance on the head) tapers into a lotus bud. The protrusion however does not begin from the middle but from the back part of the head. In addition to this, the *ushṇīsha* is small for the body. The ear lobes do not touch the shoulders.[3] The forehead is high and the neck is slender. The torso is probably of the Lion Type which is explained as "the chest is massive and corpulent, the waist slim"[4]. The *ekaccika sanghāṭī* (the upper garment) covers only the left shoulder and the pleated end of the robe on this shoulder which usually stops just above the nipple is not shown in this figure at all. The robe is so thin that the navel is quite discernable. There are no longer any folds in the robe as in the figures of the Pyu period.[5] The *Padmāsana* or *krā pallaṅ* (Lotus Throne), stands out in high relief. The halo has beads around it suggesting spreading rays. A horizontal line runs at the level of the shoulder and its ends curl up into the horns of a *makara* (sea monster). Two *haṁsā* (geese) sit on this line and their spreading tails merge into the beads of the halo. Beads also go round the Buddha in a beautiful curve. The *calac* (pediment) stands on two *pwat tuiṅ* (polished pillars) with a semi circular double rimmed top and three tiers. The *kwain:thoṅ* (? *śikhara* – pinnacle) is like a drum with floral decorations. It is in three layers. The *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) tops the drum. These are crowned with a small *cetiya* from which two streamers fly in graceful curves. The whole top which is known as the *śikhara* looks like the *Mahābodhi* stupa of Budh Gaya. (Fig. 2) On each side of the *śikhara* grow bodhi trees and two lotus buds hang from the pillars that stand on either side of the Buddha. There is a beaded border and the whole scene depicts the Enlightenment of the Buddha. Immediately below the lotus seat are two lines of embossed *Nāgarī* letters giving the famous stanza of *ye dharmā*. The reverse has King *Aniruddha*'s name and prayer (Fig. 3) written in a cursive hand perhaps at the time when the tablet was made. It says:

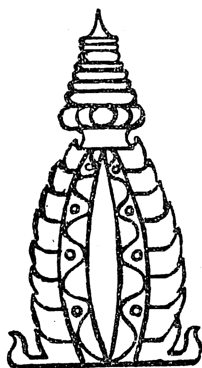


Fig. 2 *Śikhara* (from *VTB*, I, 1)

1. *VTB*, I, 1
2. *VTB*, I, pp. 3-5
3. See A.B. Griswold: *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam*. Ascona. Artibus Asiae. 1957, p. 71, No. 5 top right.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 32
5. *VTB*, II 12

22-U.P. Q.144-1000-23-8-78.

Eso bhagavā Mahārāja Siri Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttatthaṁ sahatthe ne vāti.

Desiring that he may be freed from *saṁsāra*, the Great Prosperous King *Aniruddha* himself made this image of the Lord.

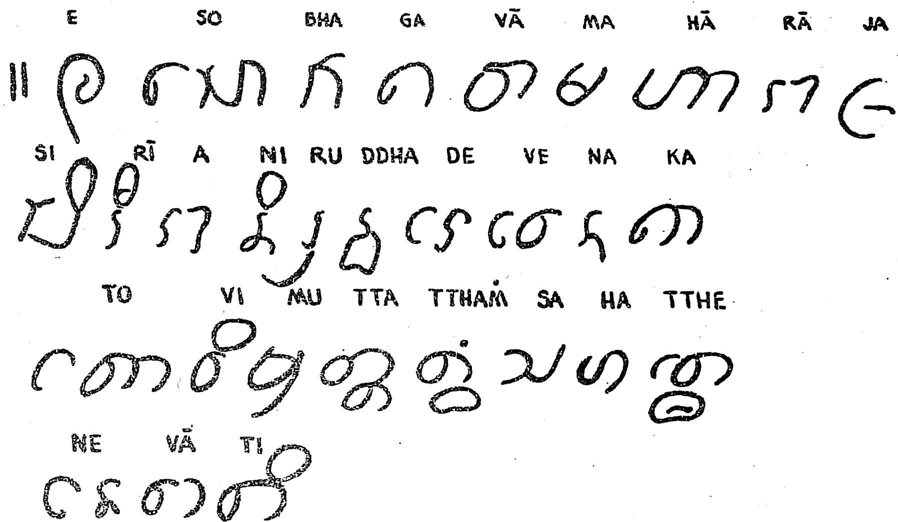


Fig. 3 The writing on the reverse of *Aniruddha*'s Tablet

In another tablet of *Aniruddha*, we have *eso lokanātho* (*VTB*, I, 3, p. 9) instead of *eso bhagavā*. This indicates Mahāyanism. But his prayer which is given below is in conformily with Hinayanism as he only wanted *nirvāṇa* when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha.

> *mayā Niruddhadevena kirtaṁ sugata sañjakaṁ, tena Meaitreya maṁvodho labhe yan nirvartto padaṁ.* (*VTB*, I, 5, p. 11)

He was not ambitious to become the Buddha himself like *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*. (*VTB*, I, 41, p. 29) Another king who followed suit was *Vajrābharaṇa* (? 1077-89) (*VTB*, I, 37, p. 27). Queen *Trilokavataṁsakā* also prayed for *nirvāṇa*. (*VTB*, I, 42, pp. 30-1).

The Buddha images are made in various *mudrā* (hand positions) and *āsana* (feet positions)[1]. Ten hand positions have been observed in the figures varying from the Buddha and Bodhisattva to the discipies and devotees. They are :

1. Most of the illustrations given here are from Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, F.K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958 Reprint and Antoinette K. Gordon: *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, Tokyo, 1959 Edition.

1. *Abhaya mudrā*—the attitude of protection or the blessing of fearlessness, where a slightly bent right arm is raised to the breast level with all fingers extended and the palm showing outward (Fig. 4) (*VTB*, I, 63; *VTB*, II, 54, 77)

2. *Ālingana mudrā* — attitude of embrace (*VTB*, II, 31,32)

3. *Añjali mudrā* — salutation, with both arms stretched upward above the head. Some scholars take it to be a prayer attitude with clasped hands (Fig. 5)(*VTB*, II, 41)

4. *Bhūmisparsa mudrā* — witness or earthtouching attitude, which is in fact calling upon the Earth to bear witness when Māra came to attack the Buddha immediately after the Enlightenment. The right arm is pendant over the right knee with the palm turned inward and all fingers touching the *Padmāsana* (Lotus Throne). (Fig. 6)



Fig. 4 *Abhaya*



Fig. 5 *Añjali*

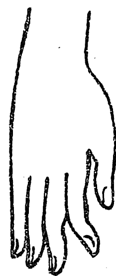


Fig. 6 *Bhūmisparśa*

5. *Dharmacakra mudrā* (*Vyākhyāna mudrā*) — preaching or turning the wheel of Law with both hands against the breast, the left covering the right hand (Fig. 7)

6. *Dhyānā mudrā* (*Samādhi mudrā*) — meditation, where both hands (right on left) lie in the lap with all fingers extended and palms up(Fig. 8) (*VTB*, I, 89; *VTB*, II, 2,8)

7. *Mahākāruṇika mudrā*—compassion, with left hand pressed against the breast (Fig. 9) (*VTB*, I, 63, 104)



Fig. 7
Dharmacakra (*Vyākhyāna*)



Fig. 8
Dhyānā (*Samādhi*)

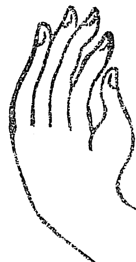


Fig. 9
Mahākāruṇika

8. *Namaskāra mudrā* — prayer, with both hands at the breast in an attitude of prayer (Fig. 10) (*VTB*, I, 63,74,108; *VTB*, II, 19, 40)

9. *Varada mudrā* (*Vara mudrā*) — charity or gift bestowing, where the arm is pendant with all fingers extended downward and the palm turned outward (Fig. 11) (*VTB*, I, 50,51; *VTB*,II, 24,28)

10. *Vitarka mudrā* — argument, where the arm is bent with all fingers extended except the index finger which touches the thumb (Fig. 12) (*VTB*, I, 93; *VTB*, II, 3,49)

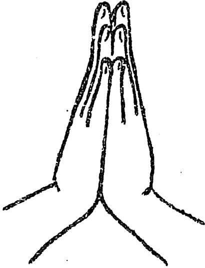


Fig. 10 *Namaskāra*



Fig. 11 *Varada* (*Vara*)

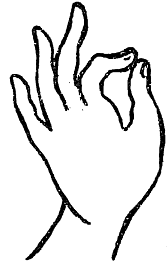


Fig. 12 *Vitarka*

During the Pyu period a number of *mudrā* were used — *bhūmisparśa mudrā* was the most popular, then *dharmacakra*, *dhyānā*, *varada*, *namaskāra*, *abhaya*, *āliṅgana*, *añjali* and *vitarka* but none of *mahākāruṇika* and *mahāparinivāṇa*. In Pagan times the *bhūmisparśa* was still the most popular, next comes the *dharmacakra*, *mahāparinirvāṇa*, *varada* and *namaskāra*. There were very few of *abhaya*, *dhyānā*, *mahākāruṇika* and *vitarka*.

Regarding *āsana* (feet positions), we find eight varieties in the votive tablets of Burma. They are :

1. *Āliḍhāsana*—standing in the attitude of drawing the bow, with the left foot forward and the leg slightly bent and the right leg straight. It signifies heroism.
2. *Bhadrāsana*[1] — sitting with both legs pendant (Fig. 13) (*VTB*, I, 13,45; *VTB*, II, 8,53)
3. *Dhyānāsana* — meditative pose, with legs closely locked and soles of both feet visible. It signifies meditation and introspection (Fig 14) (*VTB*,I,1,4; *VTB*, II, 10,11)
4. *Lalitāsana*—sitting in ease, with one leg pendant, sometimes supported by a lotus flower (Fig. 15) (*VTB*, I, 2,6; *VTB*, II, 34,64)
5. *Paryaṅkasana* — sitting cross legged, with the left leg above the right. It signifies serenity (Fig. 16) (*VTB*, I, 86,105; *VTB*, II, 1,2)
6. *Pratyāliḍhāsana* — standing, with the left leg straight and right leg slightly forward and bent. It signifies displeasure.
7. *Rājalilāsana* — royal ease with the right knee raised and left leg folded loosely. (Fig. 17) (*VTB*, II, 16,40)

1. See Shri P. M. Lad (Ed): *The Way of the Buddha*, Bombay, Ministry of Information, 1957, p. 193, Ill. No. 12

8. *Vīrāsana*—one knee raised and the foot locked in the bend of the other. It usually goes together with the *namaskāra mudrā* where the palms of the hands are joined in the prayer attitude (Fig. 18) (*VTB*, II, 28,83)

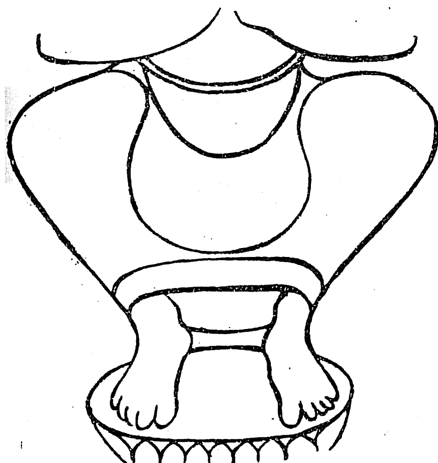


Fig. 13 Bhadrāsana

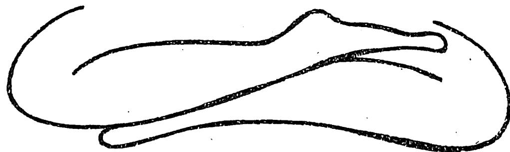


Fig. 16 *Paryaṅkasana*

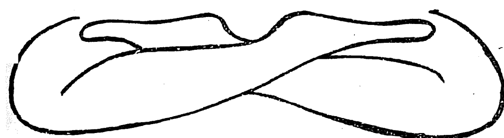


Fig 14. *Dhyānāsana*

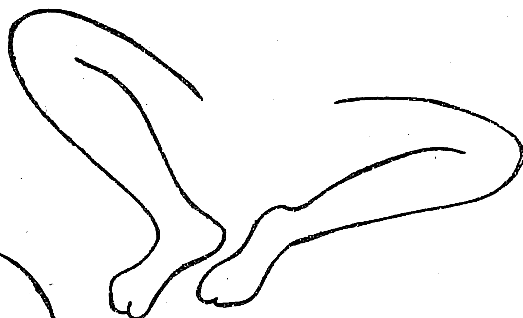


Fig. 17 *Rājalīlāsana*



Fig. 15 *Lalitāsana*

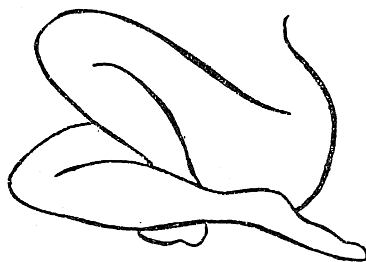


Fig. 18 *Vīrāsana*

Paryaṅkasana was the most popular *āsana* in the Pyu times. The next in frequency was *dhyānāsana* followed by *bhadrāsana, lalitāsana, rājalīlāsana* and *virāsana*. In the Pagan period the most popular was *dhyānāsana*, then *bhadrāsana*, *lalitāsana* and lastly *paryaṅkasana*. It was quite evident that *bhadrāsana* was not as scarce in Burma as most people seemed to have

believed. Here a word of caution is necessary. The standing Buddhas are not exactly in the *āliḍhāsana* (stepping left) or in the *pratyālīḍhāsana* (stepping right). The Buddha stands either straight or slightly bent in a graceful *tribhaṅga*.

The thrones are of four types, viz. *Padmāsana* (Lotus Throne) (*VTB*, 1, 2, *VTB*, II, 1, 14) *Siṁhāsana* (Lion Throne) (*VTB*, II, 8,75,76), *Vajrāsana* (Diamond Throne) *VTB*, I, 67,75, *VTB*, II, 2,3) and a mixed one of *Padmāsana* and *Vajrāsana*. What U Mya calls *Pro,pallaṅ* or *Khuinan* : *Khyui*: *pallaṅ* is perhaps the *Vajrāsana* of many sides studded with precious gems and decorated with floral designs. A standing figure like *Dīpaṅkarā* or the Buddha performing *yamakā prātihārya* (the Great Miracle at *Śrāvastī*)[1] also stands on the *Padmāsana*. As a matter of fact the Buddha or Bodhisattva is supposed to be sitting directly on the lotus or lion as shown in Fugures 19 and 20 but the artists have stylized the seats so that the lotus or the lion appear only as a part of the decorative motif.

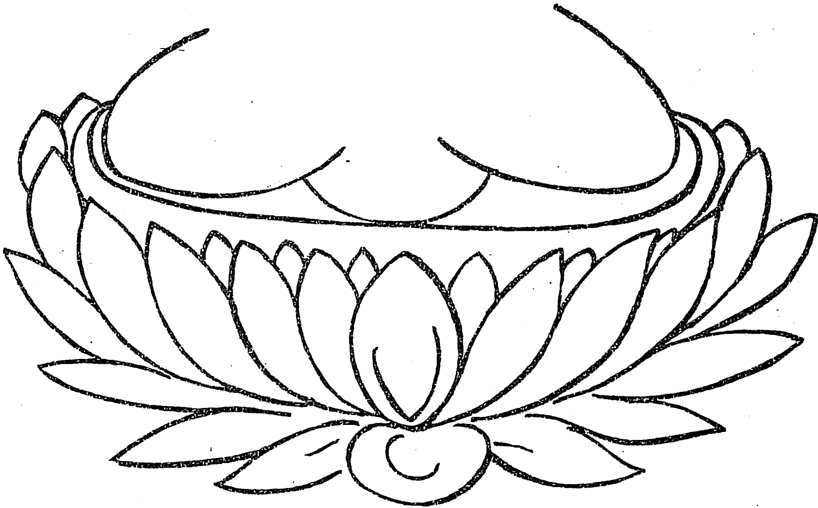


Fig. 19 *Padmāsana*

The *Padmāsana* was the most popular of the thrones in Pyu and Pagan times. But the Pagan Burman was more partial to the double throne — *Padmā-vajrāsana* (*VTB*, I, 6, 11, *VTB*, II, 10, 11) then the Pyu. In Burma today, *Vajrāsana* is used almost exclusively.It will be very inteteresting to know when it started to gain popularity. For the periods under survey, *Padmāsana* tops the list.

Some tablets have many Buddhas sitting in the same posture. The number of figures ranges from three (*VTB*, I, 6,42) to one hundred (*VTB*, 43,46) and even more (*VTB*, I, 109) Tablets depicting the Great Miracle at *Śrāvastī* (where many Buddhas are shown sitting and standing in various *mudrā*) are common to the Pyu and Pagan periods while the tablets each having many sitting Buddhas belong exclusively to the latter. We find tablets with three, five, ten, twentyeight, thirty, fifty, eightysix (*VTB*, II, 57), one hundred and one hundred and two Buddhas.

1. See *W of B*, p. 94, Ill. No. 30.

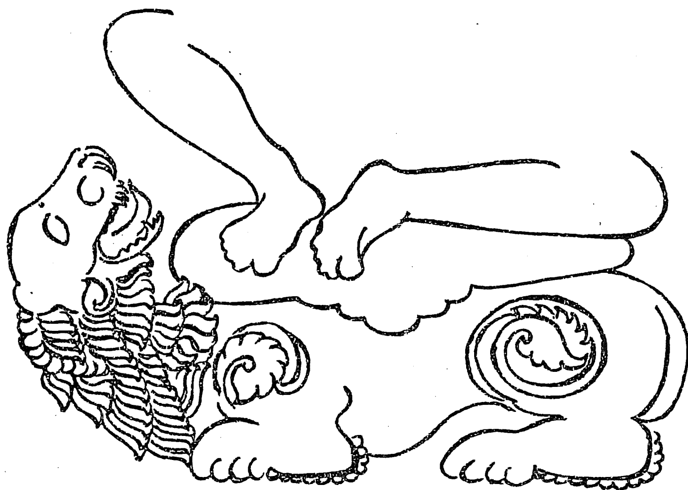
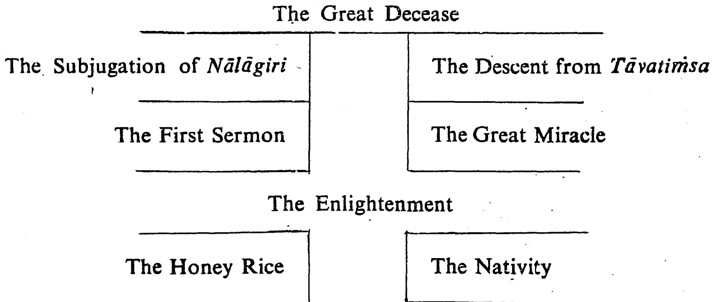


Fig. 20 *Siṁhāsana*

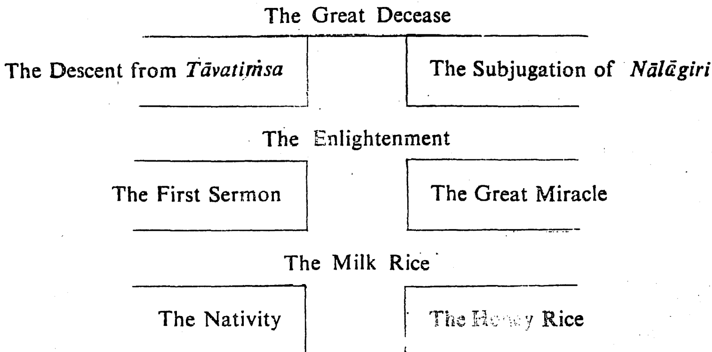
In performing the twin miracles (*yamaka prātihārya*), the Buddha is shown repeating himself in many images reaching up to the heavens in order to confound the heretics.[1] But the Burma tablets showing this, have only three (*VTB*, II, 28, 77; *VTB*, I, 63, 88, 104) or six[2] (*VTB*, II, 53, 54) Buddhas on each tablet. The tablet described by U Mya as the tablet of of the Palace scene (*VTB*, II, 56) probably is another tablet of the miracle. A tablet with seventeen figures of the Buddha (*VTB*, I, 113) is perhaps another tablet of this category but we will deal with it later. According to George Coèdès, the Great Miracle is the most popular subject of the votive tablets of Thailand and the oldest specimen dates back to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.[3] The Great Miracle tablets in Burma seem to owe their origin to peoples living to the east of Burma. The *Cammadevīvaṁsa* written in the 15th century by *Bodhiraṁsı* says that as a result of the epidemic that broke out at *Haribhuñja* in the 11th century some of its people took refuge at Pegu.[4] The *Kalyāṇī* inscription[5] says that some Cambodian war captives were given quarters at *Lakkhiyapura* (near Dala). Therefore U Mya suggests that these tablets of the great miracle were either imported from Thailand or were made locally by people who had some connection with Thailand.[6] Thai influenced tablets have been found at Tadagale,[7] Rangoon (*VTB*, I, 88), Pegu (*VTB*, I, 89, 93, 94, 95), Kawgun,[8] Pha-an (*VTB*, I, 90, 91, 92), and Hmawza, Prome (*VTB*, II, 53, 54).

1. See *W of B*, p. 93, Ill. No. 29; p. 94, Ill. No. 30 and Anil de Silva-Vigier: *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1955, Pl. 94.
2. See *SSFACP*, I, 174, Pl. II top right and R. C. Temple: *Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa*, Bomday, Education Society's Steam Press, 1894, Pl. XVI, top night.
3. *SSFACP*, I, p. 156
4. *VTB*, I, p. 62
5. *The Kalyāṇī Inscription*, Ed. by Taw Sein Ko, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1892, p. 57 (Reverse face of the first stone); Ed. by Lu Pe Win, Rangoon, Ministry of Union Culture, 1958, p.57; *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 196-7, and *JBRS*, XII, i, 39-45 (? Cambodian Invasion).
6. *VTB*, I, p. 62
7. See *SSFACP*, I, p. 177, Pl. Vb for a tablet of Thailand similar to the Tadagale tablet.
8. See R.C.T.: *NAR*, pp. 34-5, Pl. XV & Pl. XVI.

We find six tablets[1] giving the major scenes from the Buddha's life. All these tablets are from the 11th to 14th century. It is amazing that no such tablets have yet been found among the Pyu : perhaps the subject was not popular then. *Aṭṭhamahāṭhāna* —the eight major scenes, according to the tablet of *Śri Mahā Sālini* (*VTB*, I, 13) who was probably a contemporary of *Aniruddha*[2] are :



The enlightenment scene is usually in the centre. The Buddha looking straight ahead sits in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and *dhyānāsana* on a double throne with a smile on his lips. A *śikhara* rises above him. The whole is an exquisite piece of work. A similar tablet of *Ānandā* (*VTB*, I, 45) has three points of note. The craftsmanship equals that of *Sālini*'s tablet and therefore it possibly belongs to *Aniruddha*'s time. But in place of the famous stanza *yedharmā* which usually appears in old *Nāgari* is a line in the Mon-Burmese script of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*'s time mentioning that the donor was an officer (*kalan*) known as *Puwa*. On the reverse is another line in the script of *Cañsū* I's time (1113-?62) which says that the donor is *Mahāthera Ānandā*. A possible explanation is that *Ānandā* of *Cañsū*'s time used the mould belonging to *Puwa* of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*'s reign (1084-1113) who had changed the name written on the mould originally made during the time of *Aniruddha* (?1044-?77). A tablet (*VTB*, I, 50) of nine scenes probably from Shahtut Pagoda, west of Somingyi on the south of Myinkaba gives the following scenes :



1. *VTB*, I, 13,45,50,51,77 *and* 113 .
2, This supposition is based on the fact that the *yedharmā* stanza of this tablet and those of ***Aniruddha*'s** are in the same script. *VTB*, I, p. 17

The *yedharmā* inscription at the base is in *Nāgarī* of the 12th century script. Another tablet (*VTB*, I, 51) of eight scenes from an unspecified place in Pagan has a different arrangement. The bottom left shows *Māyā*'s dream. *Māyā* is sitting in *bhadrāsana* holding a ball-like thing in her hand while the white elephant tries to enter her womb. The nativity is at the bottom right. Between the two scenes are six lines in Mon (illegible except for a few words in the style of the 12th century). In the second row are the first sermon, enlightenment and great miracle scenes. Above these are the subjugation of *Nālāgiri* and the descent from *Tāvatiṁsa*. On the top is the recumbent Buddha under a spreading umbrella and surrounded by a group of mourning disciples.

	The Great Decease	
The Subjugation of *Nālāgiri*		The Descent from *Tāvatiṁsa*
	The Enlightenment	
The First Sermon		The Great Miracle
The Dream of *Māyā*		The Nativity

Another tablet (*VTB*, I, 77) of eight major scenes comes from Bassein. It has an inscription in Mon of the 14th century script saying that the image was made by a great minister. The arrangement of scenes are similar to that of *Sālini*'s tablet. The last one (*VTB*, I, 113) to be described in this category has seventeen Buddhas — one recumbent, four sitting *bhadrāsana*, five standing and seven sitting *dhyānāsana*. As the tablet is badly preserved we cannot see the details clearly. The top figure is the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. Perhaps it is similar to the sandstone relief from Sārnāth[1] (5th century A.D.) which has:

	The Great Decease	
The Geat Miracle One Sitting and Five Standing Buddhas	The First Sermon	The Great Miracle One Sitting and Five Standing Buddhas
	Māra's Attack and The Enlightenment	
	The First Bath and The Nativity	

Another sandstone relief from Sārnāth[2] has eight sitting and six standing figures of the Buddha depicting the scene of the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī. U Mya says that up till now no other such tablet has ever been discovered in Burma.

1. See *W of B*, p, 28, Ill. No. 3 and *L of B*, Pl. 95
2. *W of B*, p. 94, Ill. No. 30 and *L of B*, Pl. 94

23. UPG.144. 1000. 23.8.78.

Although I have mentioned above that the Pyu did not produce tablets of eight major scenes, they did produce tablets depicting one scene alone on each tablet. But so far only tablets of the great miracle (*VTB*; II, 28, 53, 54, 56) and the turning of the wheel of Law (*VTB*, II, 55, 77) have been discovered. The Hmawza tablet of the miracle (*VTB*, II, 53) is very similar to the one which R. C. Temple reported had been discovered at Amherst[1] and to another tablet of Khao Ok Dalu, Badalung, mentioned by G. Coédès in his paper on the votive tablets of Thailand.[2] U Mya therefore suggests that *Śrīkṣetra* and *Dvārāvatī* must have had some intercourse in the period from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. The tablet showing the first sermon (*VTB*, II,55) has the Buddha in the *dharmacakra mudrā* and *dhyānāsana*. The sun and moon shines at his head level and he is flanked by five disciples on the left and five *deva* on the right. There is a wheel immediately below the *padmāsana* (Lotus Throne). The bottom row has deer and flowers. In the 5th century sculpture of Sārnāth showing the same scene,[3] the Buddha sits in *dharmacakra mudrā* and *dhyānāsana*. The halo has an elaborately curved floral design. Two flying *deva* guard the top left and right corners. A pair of *vyāla* and *makara* are seen on both sides of the Buddha. On the pedestal is carved the side view of the *dhammacakra* which is flanked by three disciples on the right and two disciples, one lady and a child on the left. They are all in *namaskāra mudrā*. The disciples, are the *pañcavaggiya* but we do not know who the lady and child are and why they appear there. The Pyu tablet has five disciples and five *deva* and the front view of the *dharmacakra* together with deer and flowers which the Sārnāth statue omits. The *dharmacakra* carved on stone in the 1st century B.C. on the middle architrave, West Gate, Stupa I,[4] Sārnāth, has 32 spokes whereas the wheel of the Pyu tablet has only the four major ones.

In about a fifth of the 160 tablets under survey, we find the figure of the Buddha or Bodhisattava flanked by *Śrāvaka* (disciples) (*VTB*, I, 49,66,108; *VTB*, II, 1,58,81) *Sakti* (consort) (*VTB*, II, 19,28) or *dāyaka* (devotee) (*VTB*, II, 8). But in the Pagan period we find only two varieties, i.e. the Buddha flanked by *Śrāvaka* (*VTB*, I, 49,66,108) and by a *Bodhisattva* (*VTB*, I, 6,10,42,105,106).

Here one would certainly notice the presence of the *Mahāyāna* deities such as *Maitreya*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Tarā* and *Saravatī*. This is undeniable proof that *Mahāyāna* and *Hinayāna* Buddhism had devotees in both the Pyu and Pagan periods and it is interesting to note that King *Aniruddha* himself and *Trilokavataṁsakā* (Queen of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*) left votive tablets of the Buddha flanked by *Avalokiteśvara* and *Maitreya* (*VTB*, I, 6, 10, 105, 106 by *Aniruddha* and 42 by *Triloka*). In passing it must be mentioned here that there are also tablets where *Avalokiteśvara* (*VTB*, II, 29, 34, 40; *VTB*, I, 2, 69) or *Tarā* (*VTB*, II, 24) appears as the central figure.[5]

As part of the decoration around the central figure of the tablet, there are stupas of various shapes. The number varies from one to fifty two(*VTB*, I,111). It seems that this kind of

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1. R.C.T. : *NAR*, Pl. XVI, top right
2. *SSFACP*, I, 174, Pl. II, top right
3. *W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10 and *L of B*, Pl. 83
4. *W of B*, p. 82, Ill. No. 9
5. U Mya suggests that the figure on the tablet found at Hpaunglin village, Minbu (*VTB*, I, 69, p. 52) is *Jambala* and one of the flanking figures on the tablets from a mound south of Ngashinkan at Mahtaw village near Hmawza, Prome (*VTB*, II, 19, p. 18) is *Hayagrīva*. See B.B. : *IBI*, pp. 237-8 and Figs. 176-9 on pp. 286-8 for *Jambala* and p. 165 and figs. 128-9 on pp. 266-7 for *Hayagrīva*.

decoration became more popular in the Pagan period. In one tablet of the 7th or 8th century (*VTB*, II, 44) we find the *kalaśa* pot (which U Mya calls *krā swat ui: - VTB*, I, p. 54) on each side of the Buddha and it is not unlikely that a certain type of stupa evolved from the *kalaśa* pot. (Fig. 21) As we find steatite pots used as reliquaries at Piprava in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, India (4th century B.C.)[1] and at Sāñchī (2nd century B.C.),[2] it is quite possible that the pot had been used as a model for building stupa. In another tablet of the 6th or 7th century (*VTB*, II, 14), we find a relic casket set on the upraised elephant trunk holding a lotus on each side of the Buddha. This suggests that another type of stupas evolved from the relic caskets. (Fig 22) The Bawbawgyi pagoda at Hmawza, Prome, belongs to this casket type and it dates back to the 6th or 7th century A.D.[3].

The back part of the Buddha's throne is the *takai* which includes various objects as part of the decoration. Generally it looks like a beautiful pediment under which the Buddha sits sometimes alone or sometimes with two disciples or devotees. Various objects of decoration include balls, banners, bead, Bodhi trees, crowns, dancing figures, deer, elephants, floral designs, *gamuṁ:* (species of *Kaempferia*), halo, *haṁsa*, *kalasa* pot, *khyayā*: (kind of *Mimusops*), *kirttimukha*, *makara*, offesings on trays, *śikhara*, sun and moon, *swastika*, umbrellas, *utpala* (blue lotus), *vyāla* and wheels. We find that balls, dancing figures, *makara*, sun and moon, *vyāla* and wheels were used only by the Pyu. We do not find them in the Pagan period. On the other hand, things like *haṁsa* and *śikhara* were introduced during the Pagan period. The banners, beads, bodhi trees and umbrellas became more popular during this later period. As a matter of fact the introduction of the *śikhara* in the Pagan period changed the entire look of the tablet—leaving no room for the *vyāla* and *makara*.[4] It is a pity that the use of such beatiful figures was discontinued. Although they

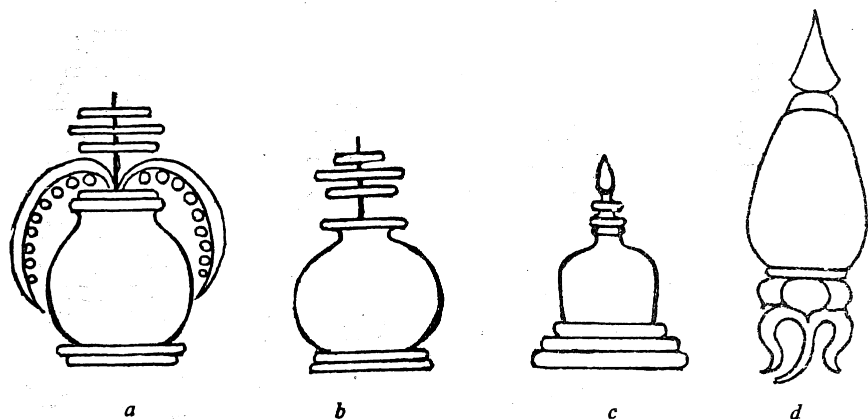


Fig. 21 Stupas evolving from the *kalaśa* pot[5]

1. *W of B*, p. 127, Ill. No. 9
2. *W of B*, p. 138, Ill. No. 27
3. *VTB*, II, p. 21
4. See the stone sculpture of the Fist Sermon, Sārnāth, 5th century A.D. (*W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10)
5. Fig. 21 a (*VTB*, II, 44), b (*VTB*, II, 44), c (*VTB*, I, 75, *VTB*, II, 36, 38, 51), d (*VTB*, II, 22)

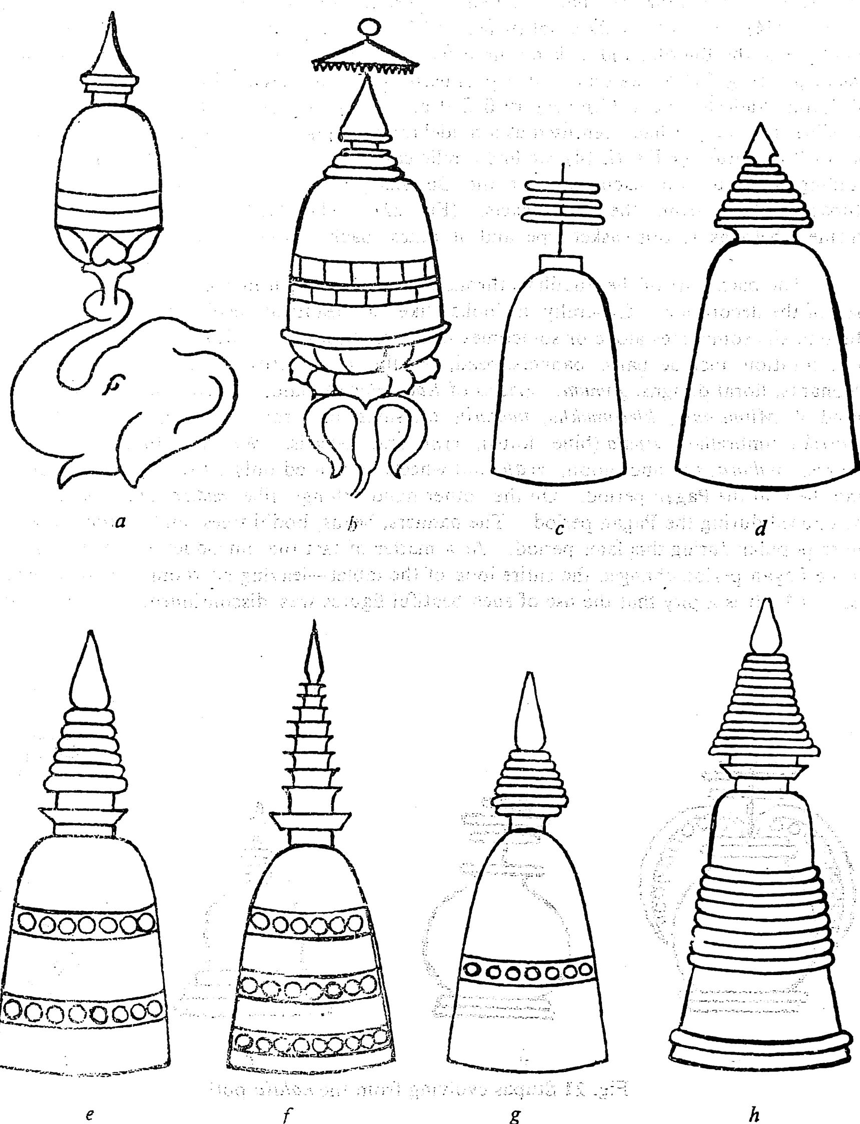


Fig. 22 Stupas evolving from the relic casket[1]

1. Fig. 22 a (*VTB*, II, 14). b (*VTB*, II, 17,27, 61), c (*VTB*. II, 39), d (*VTB*, I, 12) e (*VTB*, I, 18), f (*VTB*, I, 4), g (*VTB*, I, 11), h (*VTB*, I, 65)

disappeared from the votive tablets it does not mean that the Pagan artist had lost the art of making them. They were often depicted on the walls of the religious edifices at Pagan until the fall on the empire. (Fig. 23)



Fig. 23 Animals used as part of the decoration (a. from *Sārnāth*[1], 5th century A.D., b. from a Hmawza tablet[2], 7th-10th century A.D., c. from the Koṇārka Temple[3], c. 1250 and d. from a wall painting at the Nandamañña pagoda[4], Pagan, c. 1280

1. *W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10
2. *VTB*, II, 12
3. *Gaja-Vidala*, Arabinda Chatterjee, *Koṇārka At A Glance*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 23
4. From the copies of wall paintings at the Archaeological Survey, Burma.

The donors of these tablets used to write their names either on the obverse below the Buddha's throne or on the reverse of the tablet and these names happen to be those of kings, queens, monks and common people. We now have a considerable number of these new names to be added to the early history of Burma. The urn inscriptions of Hmawza[1] have such names as *Sūriyavikrama*, *Harivikrama* and *Sīhavikrama* who were supposed to be kings of *Śrīkṣetra* in the 7th century A.D. The silver reliquary[2] has the name of *Śrī Prabhuvarman* and *Śrī Prabhudevī*. From another inscription on the four sides of a stone image[3] we have the names of *Guhadipa*, *Jayacandravarman* and *Harivikrama*[4] who probably were the contemporary rulers of Vishnu City (near Taungdwingyi) and *Śrīkṣetra* respectively. An inscription from Hanlin mentions *Tda: ba: Vikhno Sriku* and *Mahādevi Śrī Jandra* which U Mya suggests, are probably *Vishnū Śrī Gupta* and *Mahādevi Śrī Candra*.[5] Thus kings having *Vikrama*, *Varmana* and *Gupta* as part of their names must have ruled in the three Pyu centres of Hmawza, Peikthanomyo and Hanlin respectively during the period from the 7th to 9th centuries. Other new names are *Bá: Carke*[6] (Lord *Carke*), *Ba*)*Tra U*,[7] *Sri Ba*: *Cho*[8], *Bá : Sga*:[9] *Bá*: *Ra*:,[10] *Bá Dd*:,[10] and *Bā Dehi*.[11] On the reverse of another tablet is the name which according to U Mya might be read as *Śrī Nālandāya*.[12] If that is the correct reading he suggests that it might mean some sort of link between *Nālanda* and *Śrīkṣetra*.

The tablets of the Pagan period have inscriptions mentioning such names as *Aniruddha*[13] (King? 1044-?77), *Anantajayabikram*[14] (*Saṁpyaṅ*), *Ānanda*[15] (*Thera*), *I Taimila*[16], *Ṅa Goṅ*[17], *Ṅa Chūm*,[18] *Ṅa Pay Pwam*,[19] *Cipe*[20] (Chief Queen), *Ce Thoy No*,[21] *Candumāh*[22] (?*Saṁpyaṅ*),

1. Pl. 354c, a, b
2. *VTB*, II, 1
3. *ASI*, 1927-8, pp. 128 & 145, Pl. LIV g, h
4. *BRSFAP*, II, 311
5. *VTB*, II, p. 9
6. *VTB*, II, 17
7. *VTB*, II, 60a
8. *VTB*, II, 60b
9. *VTB*, II, 60d
10. *VTB*. II, 61a
11. *VTB*, II, 62
12. *VTB*, II, 85b
13. *VTB*, I, 1,3,5,7,8,9,10,11,12,68,71
14. *VTB*, I, 78
15. *VTB*, I, 45c, p. 41
16. *VTB*, I, 98, p. 66
17. *VTB*, I, 70
18. *VTB*, I, 98, p. 66
19. *VTB*, I, 71
20. *VTB*, I, 32,34,35
21. *VTB*; I, 97
22. *VTB*, I, 22 (Pl. 606 t w)

Tiras,[1] *Trāyyā*[2] (*Sampyan*), *Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja*[3] (King *Thiluin Man* 1084-1113). *Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja*[4] (King *Cañsū* II, 1174-1211), *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja*[5] (King *Cañsū* I, 1113-?62), *Triyā*[6] (*Sampyan*), *Trilokāvatamsakāmahādevī*[7] (Chief Queen of *Thiluin Man*), *Divācariyena*[8] (*Thera*), *Dhammarājapandita*[9] (*Thera*), *Pī*[10] (*Kalan*),*Puwa*[11] (*Kalan*),*Pintū*[12] (*Sampyan*),*Pwon*[13] (*Kalan*),*Bañā no*[14] (*Sampyan*),*May Khray*,[15] *May Pā*,[16] *Muggaliputta*[17] (*Thera*), *Mon Uin*[18], *Mon Keh Soau*[19], *Mon Khat*,[20] *Yassa*[21] (*Sampyan*), *Yāsohddharāh*[22], *Yikhī*[23], *Lān Yan Len*[24], *Vajrābharanadeva*[25] (?King ?1077-84), *Visannarāc*[26] (*Sampyan*), *Sudhammāh*[27] (*Thera*), *Sumedha*[28] (*Thera*) and *Srī Mahā Sālinī*[29] (? Queen). Among these names, *Aniruddha* was King of *Arimaddanapura* in the 11th century. *Cipe* of the same period claimed to be the Chief Queen (*Mahesī*). Perhaps she was *Aniruddha*'s queen. *Śrī Mahā Sālini* probably was of the royal family of *Aniruddha* as the prefixes *Śrī Mahā* to her name suggest. *Divācariyena* and *Suddhammāh* were the names of two senior monks of that time. As officers or ministers of *Aniruddha* there were *Sampyan Candumāh*, *Sampyan Bañāno*, *Sampyan Trāyyā*, *Sampyan Yassa*, *Sampyan Visannarāc* and *Kalan Ña Gon*. The next King was *Vajrābharana* (? 1077-84) followed by *Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja* who reigned as King of Pagan from 1084 to 1113. *Trilokāvatamsakā* was his Chief Queen. *Sampyan Anantajayabhikram* and *Sampyan Yi Khī* were his governors for Tavoy. Junior ministers were *Kalan Puwa* and *Kalan Pwon*. The notable *thera* of the reign were *Muggaliputta* and *Sumedha*. *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja* ruled from 1113 to ? 1162 and *Sampyan Pintū* and *Sampyan*

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1. *VTB*, I, p. 65
2. *VTB*, I, 17
3. *VTB*, I, 40,41,78 (Pl. 364a⁴)
4. *VTB*, I, 46 (Pl. 10a¹, A.D. 1190)
5. *VTB*, I, 43 (Pl. 1¹⁸⁻¹⁹, Pl. 2⁴¹, Pl. 568b)
6. *VTB*, I, 44
7. *VTB*, I, 42 (Pl. 364a⁶)
8. *VTB*, I, 15b
9. *VTB*, I, 47 (Pl. 10a⁹, A.D. 1190)
10. *VTB*, I, 75
11. *VTB*, I, 45b
12. *VTB*, I, p. 33
13. *VTB*, I, p. 58
14. *VTB*, I, 30
15. *VTB*, I, 70
16. *VTB*, I, 98, p. 67
17. *VTB*, I, 48, 49 (Pl. 364a²⁵)
18. *VTB*, I, p. 70
19. *VTB*, I, 53
20. *VTB*, I, 71
21. *VTB*, I, 14ab, 20, ?99
22. *VTB*, I, 27 (Pl. 606 sx)
23. *VTB*, I, p. 60
24. *VTB*, I, 98, p. 66
25. *VTB*, I, 36,37,38,39
26. *VTB*, I, 19,23,24,25,26 (Pl. 606 abijklmnopqruv)
27. *VTB*, I, 28
28. *VTB*, I, 61 (Pl. 365a²⁴⁻⁵)
29. *VTB*, I, p. 13

Triyā were his ministers. *Ānandā* was the noted *thera* of the reign. *Tribhuvanādityapavara-dhammarāja* became king in 1174 and ruled until 1211. *Dhammarājapaṇḍita* was probably the King's Preceptor. *Kalan Pī* served in his reign. These are almost all the names that we can get out of the inscriptions on the tablets under survey and the names of queens and ministers of *Aniruddha*'s time are quite new to us. *Yassa*, the minister of *Aniruddha* described himself as *Dānapati Śri Rājavallabha, Yasa nāma* (in the old *Nāgarī* script) and *Saṁbeṅ Maṅ Yassa nāma rājavallabhena dānapati* (in the old Mon-Burmese script)[1] which means that the donor is *Saṁpyaṅ Maṅ Yassa*, an intimate of the king. In addition to this, a Pali inscription written in a reverse form in the Mon-Burmese script on the obverse reads:

Imaṁ Buddhabimbaṁ Saṁbeṅ Maṅ Yassa nāma rājavallabhena dānapati sabbañu-tañaṇa varaṁ pathantena kataṁ sade vako loko jānātūti.[2]

Desiring Buddhahood, the king's favourite, known by the name of *Saṁpyaṅ Maṅ Yassa*, made this image of the Buddha with the thought "May the world including the *deva* know this."

Here U May refers to an inscription from Saw Hla Wun (Pagan Museum Stone No. 44)[3] dated A.D. 1236 where *Asawat*, minister of *Nātoṅmyā* (1211-?31) was mentioned by his widow as:

amacco rājavallabho ... aklwaṁ waṅ so maṅ amat te //[4]

The minister was an intimate of the king.

This is an important point with regard to Burmese political thought and practice. To be one of the King's intimates seem to be an attribute of a good administrative officer. Perhaps these intimates of the King became *atwaṅ:wan* i.e. privy councillors in later times.

There are also many tablets in Burma which had nothing to do with the Religion. Most of them were found at Hmawza, Prome (*VTB*, II, 7, 31, 32, 41, 42, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71) and at Kyontu, Waw Township, Pegu District (*VTB*, I, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85). They were probably part of the decorative motif of the walls which surround the religious buildings and they contain many beautiful floral designs and interesting fighting or hunting scenes. Although most of the tablets discussed in U Mya's book belong to a period from the 7th to 12th century, he also includes one tablet (*VTB*, I, 86) found in the relic chamber of the Botataung Pagoda, Rangoon, which has an incription in one of the Brāhmī script of the *Buddhaghosa Dhammapāla* period (5th century A.D.),[5] four tablets from Semeikshe (Thazi), Binji Cave (Thaton), Shwezayan (Thaton) and an unknown place (*VTB*, I, 72, 75, 76 and 108) which are of the 13th century, one tablet (*VTB*, I, 73) also from Sameikshe (Thazi) of the 14th century and two tablets from the Htupayon (Sagaing) and Akyab (Arakan) of the

1. *VTB*, I, p. 17 It is on the border of tablet

2. *VTB*, I, p. 18

3. Pl. 96; List 235a, *SIP* (G.H.L. & P.M.T.) 49; *SIP* (E.M.) 95; *UB*, I, 195-6

4. Pl. 96[2,8], *VTB*, I, p. 18

5. A. L. Basham: *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 266

15th century (*VTB*, I, 74, 96). He also includes in the illustrations, one tablet that looks like a product of some Chinese workmanship (*VTB*, I, 33) and another tablet made of iron (*VTB*, I, 106) found at Myinkaba, Pagan.

With regard to the script U Mya observes that the *Nāgarī* letters of the Pyu tablets were quite different from those written on the tablets of Pagan[4] and that the writing on *Aniruddha*'s[5] (*VTB*, I, 9) and *Yassa*'s tablets (*VTB*, I, 14b) were of the earliest known writings in the Mon-Burmese script.[6] The names of fruits and vegetables written on the reverse of the tablets[7] (*VTB*, I, 53) found at a hillock in Maung Chit Sa's field to the east of the Ananda Pagoda, Pagan give us some of the earliest examples of written Burmese. The donors of these tablets are *Ānanda Thera*, *Moṅ Keh Soau*, etc. and the tablets belong either to the reign of *Cañsū* I (1113-? 62) or *Cañsū* II (1174-1211).[5] From these tablets U Mya gets the names of 52 kinds of fruit, etc.[8] They are *ip mhūy*[7] (? *Lagerstroemia Flos reginae*, modern *pyañma*, *Embrella robusta*), *ūrec*[8] (*Aegle marmelus*), *ūn wat*[9] (coconut), *oṅmañiw*[10] (*Clitoria ternatea*), *katiw*[11] (? musk), *kulāpāy*[12] (*Cicer arietinum*), *kampon*[13] (soap acacia), *kankhyow*,[14] *kleñphū-rum*[15] (the white gourd-melon, *Benincasa cerifera*), *klīmyaṅ*,[16] *klit*[17] (? *Coix la chrymae jobis*), *kra*[18] (*Nymphaea*), *krakkrūn*[19] (a kind of coffeewort), *kra, klū*[20] (? the chebula tree, *Terminalia chebula*), *kramrañ*[21] (sugar cane juice), *kwam sī*[22] (areca-nuts), *khīrhāpwaṅ*[23] (*Acanthus illicifolius*), *ṅhākpyow*[24] (banana), *cariw*[25] (a kind of medicinal herb), *cimunak*[26] (?*Nigella sativa*), *cīmukrī*[27] (?gingerwort), *chiphūh*[28], *chan*[29] (husked

1. *VTB*, I, p. 24 and *VTB*, II, p. 24
2. See also Pl. 568a.
3. *VTB*, I, pp. 14 and 19
4. Pl. 604, Pl. 605; *BRSPAP*, II, 352-61
5. *VTB*, I, p. 41
6. *VTB*, I, pp. 43-5 ; Pl. 604, Pl. 605 together give only 35 names.
7. *VTB*, I, p. 44, n. 21, Pl. 604j
8. 66, Pl. 386[28]
9. 64, Pl. 605b
10. 13, Pl. 604p
11. 6, 45, 58, Pl. 604l
12. 25, Pl. 605l
13. 2
14. 59, 62
15. 54, Pl. 604g
16. 60
17. 50, 51
18. 1, 22, Pl. 605o
19. 37, Pl. 604e
20. 40
21. 35, Pl. 605a
22. 7, Pl. 604d
23. 56, 57, Pl. 604o
24. 14
25. 33, Pl. 604r
26. 29
27. 65, Pl. 604n
28. 68, Pl. 604k
29. 4

rice), *chapswā*[1] (*Pandanus furcatus*), *ñhiwpān*,[2] *taleñ*[3] (pomegranate), *tīsī*[4] (? *Diospyros Burmanica*), *tancikū*[5] (sandalwood, *santalum album*), *tān cu lyān*,[6] *thānryak*[7] (palmyra jaggery), *nham*[8] (sesamum), *pānpūy*[9] (*Careya arborea*), *pāy kri*[10] (*Dolichos lablab var.lignosus*), *pāy lwam*[11] (*Vigna Catjang*) *pyā noy*[12] (? nwegyo, *Thunbergia laurifolia*), *phalā*[13] (the cardamom plant), *phitkhyañ*[14] (*Piper cubeba*), *bhittikiy*[15] (? *pittaka*, the papaya, *Carica papaya*), *mathunsarā*[16] (? grape), *munñañ*[17] (black mustard, *Braisica nigra*), *mūriw pwañ*[18] (? the mudar plant), *yasakleñ*[19] (*Sesbania aegyptiaca*), *rañmā*[20] (*Chickrassia tabularic*, Chittagong wood), *rāyriw*[21] (*Morinda citrifolia* or *angustifolia*), *rhokpwāñ*[22] (*citrus* blossom), *lakthut*[23] (? *Wrightia tomentosa*), *sāniwkhūy*[24] (*kamkaw*, *Mesua* ironwood), *sikhwā*[25] (cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*), *si,twot*[26] (*Fiscus hispida*), *siryak*[27] (mango), *secchi*[28] (*sacchim*, the *Terminalia belerica* myrobalan) and *hinkiw*[29] (asafoetida or ? the papaya as the Tavoyans call it). From other epigraphic sources we can add thirteen more, viz. *khapoñ* (*Strychnos*), *kheñ* (? ginger), *cāmkā* (*Michelia champaca*, champac), *punñak* (Calopyllum), *piy* (corypha palm), *mañklañ* (the tamarind), *mun* (? *pinnai*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, the Jack fruit tree), *mhānrwañ*, *sipriy* (the Rose apple tree), *siphan* (the sycamore-fig), *sitūy* (Karen potato), *sanpoñ* and *sampar*ā (the lime).[30] Thus we have about 65 names of fruits, flower, trees, plants, climbers, etc. belonging to the 12th century Pagan.

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1. *VTB*. I, p. 44, n. 27, Pl. 605f
2. 36, Pl. 605h
3. 39, 53, Pl. 605q
4. 61
5. 10
6. 46
7. 9, Pl. 605c
8. 20, Pl. 604c
9. 11, 12, 15, Pl. 605e
10. 32, Pl. 605j
11. 31, Pl. 605k
12. 49
13. 5, 18, 38
14. 28, 43, 44
15. 63
16. 42, Pl. 604 m
17. 17. Pl. 605 i
18. 3
19. 19, 26, Pl. 605 m
20. 23, Pl. 605 d
21. 30, Pl. 604, b
22. 47, 48, Pl. 605 m
23. 8, Pl. 605 g
24. 55, Pl. 604 q
25. 24, 34, Pl. 604 f, h
26. 52, Pl. 605 r
27. 16, Pl. 604 i
28. 67
29. 41
30. See *BRSFAP*, II, 352-61

There are six kinds of prayers written on these tablets. They are:

1. A simple prayer for just the boon of of *nirvāṇa*, prayed by *Aniruddha*,[1] *Vajrābharaṇa*,[2] *Trilokāvataṁsakā*,[3] *Dhammarājapaṇḍita*,[4] *Ce Thoy No*,[5] *Tiras*,[6] and *Lāṅ Yaṅ Laṅ*.[7]

2. A prayer wishing to be freed from all miseries.[8]

3. A prayer to become the foremost person in both the worlds of man and *deva* before *nirvāṇa* is attained finally.[9]

4. A prayer by two Governors of Tavoy viz. *Anantajayabhikrān*[10] and *Yi Khī*[11] who wanted to become *śrāvaka* when their lord the king (*Thiluiṅ Maṅ*) becomes the Buddha.

5. A prayer to attain *nirvāṇa* when *Maitreya* becomes the Buddha, prayed by *Aniruddha*[12] and *Bañāno*.[13]

6. A prayer for Buddhahood prayed by *Yassa*,[14] *Visannarāc*,[15] *Yāsohddharāh*,[16] *Tribhavanādityadhammarāja*[17] (*Thiluiṅ Maṅ*), *Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja*.[18] (*Cañsū* I), *Triyā*,[19] *Puwa*[20] *Ānanda*,[21] *Sumedha*[22] and *Pi*.[23]

This shows that only the most ambitious prayed for Buddhahood and it is interesting to note that *Aniruddha* and *Vajrābharaṇa* are not in that group. *Aniruddha* only mentioned that he wished for *nirvāṇa* when he meets *Maitreya*, the next Buddha. So it seems that among the Pagan kings it was *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* – an interloper, whose regnal title was *Tribhavanadityadhammarāja* was the first to pray for Buddhahood.

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1. *VTB*, I, pp. 9, 14
2. *VTB*, I, p. 27
3. *VTB*, I, p. 31
4. *VTB*, I, p. 37
5. *VTB*, I, p. 64
6. *VTB*, I, p. 65
7. *VTB*, 1, p. 67
8. *VTB*, I, p. 66
9. *VTB*, I, p. 46
10. *VTB*, I, 59
11. *VTB*, I, p. 60
12. *VTB*, I, p. 11
13. *VTB*, I, I, p. 24
14. *VTB*, I, p. 18
15. *VTB*, I. p. 20
16. *VTB*, I, p. 23
17. *VTB*, I, p. 29
18. *VTB*, I, p. 31
19. *VTB*, I, p. 33
20. *VTB*, I, p. 34
21. *VTB*, I, p. 34
22. *VTB*, I, p. 48
23. *VTB*, I, p. 55

The presence of either the Buddha or the Bodhisattva and his *Śakti* as central figures in some votive tablets show us that both the *Mahāyāna* and *Hinayāna* Buddhisms had devotees among both the rulers and the ruled. The use of *Brāhmī* and *Nāgarī* scripts, is evidence of Burma's cultural affinity with India. There may have been links between *Śrīkṣetra* and *Nālanda* and China. This intercourse probably explains the presence of northern Buddhism in Burma. In workmanship the Pyu tablets are definitely finer than the Pagan ones. Tablets of the latter half of the Pagan period are of better craftsman than those of the earlier half, but they still fall short of the Pyu standard. In depicting the Buddha, the Pyu used many *mudrā* (hand posittons) and *āsana* (feet positions) while the people of Pagan mostly used the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and *dhyānāsana*. The *bhadrāsana* was quite popular and not as scarce as previously assumed. The *padmāsana* was the most common throne. A close study of the stupas used in the decorations around the Buddha on the tablets give us a fairly complete picture of how the stupas had evolved from the *kalaśa* pot and relic caskets. In the decorative motifs, the disappearance of the *vyāla* and *makara* is a sad thing though it is in some ways compensated by the introduction of the *haṁsa* and *śikhara*. We find in the list of donors kings, ministers of *Aniruddha* and *Thiluiṅ Maṅ*, and a queen who claims to be the chief among queens (*mahesī*). All this information is new to history. We have a list of fruits and flowers which give us an idea of the flora and fauna of the day.

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I Epigraphy

BURMA is richly endowed with inscriptions. In this respect it is the richest country in Southeast Asia, but "this richness applies only to number and not to age" as only a few inscriptions antedating the 11th century have been discovered. *Śrīkṣetra* yielded a stone fragment containing an extract from *Vibhaṅga*, gold-leaf Pali manuscripts, and "five-urn-inscriptions" in Pyu, all of which could be dated to the 8th century or earlier. Seven Sanskrit inscriptions were found in Arakan and they belong to the 6th-8th century.[1] This is about all that is known the prior to period A.D. 1044–1287. In our period the earliest inscriptions yet discovered are the seals of *Aniruddha*. They are all on terra-cotta votive tablets and bear the name of *Aniruddha* in Sanskrit or Pali (*Anuruddha* in the latter case). Their find spots range from Mongmit in the north to Tenasserim in the south.[2] After these we have the Mon inscriptions of *Thiluiṅ Maṅ* (A.D. 1084-1113) which have been edited by C.O. Blagden[3] and published in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The Ananda Temple built by the same king has hundreds of glazed plaques depicting scenes from the *Jātaka* with Mon legends. As a matter of fact Mon language was almost exclusively used for inscriptions of the early part of our period. There are also many votive tablets[4], bearing the names of some fruits and trees, found in Taungbi village, east of Ananda, Pagan. Judging by the script and spelling, they are considered to be the earliest writings in Burmese. Probably they belong to the early 12th century when Burmans started writing their own language. The presence of inscriptions written in Pali, Mon and even Pyu in the early 12th century suggests that the art of writing among the Burmans was still in its infancy so that scribes in other languages than the Burmese were easily procurable. But from A.D. 1174 onwards Burmese alone became the language of the inscriptions with the exception of a few lines of Pali prayer added in some cases. The Tatkale Pagoda Inscription[5] (A.D. 1192) gives us a fairly good example of the script, spelling and style of old Burmese. The script shows some affinity with the scripts of South India and has a surprisingly close resemblence to the old *Brāhmī* script in many of its characters.[6] Some scholars are of the opinion that the Burmans got their art of writing from the Mon who borrowed it from Pallava (Conjeveram).[7]

During the latter half of the Pagan dynasty, lithic inscriptions became more numerous. In addition to these, there were also "ink inscriptions" written on the walls of the hollow-pagodas, some of which are duplicates of the stone inscriptions. We have the greatest

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1. E.H. Johnston: "Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan", *BSOAS*, XI, ii, 357-85; D.C. Sircar: "Inscriptions of Chandras of Arakan", *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, i, 103-9: *ASB*, 1919, p. 56, 1921, App. G No. 13, 1956-7, pp. 17-21, 1958-9, pp. 24-7
2. See Map IV
3. Inscriptions I to XI of *Ep. Birm.*
4. Pl. 604, Pl. 605, Pl. 606; *VTB*, I & II. See Appendix II
5. Pl. 12
6. Tha Myat: *A History of the Mon-Burmese Alphabet* (in Burmese) Rangoon. 1955-6, pp. 8-9
7. *ASB.*, 1919, pp. 19-20; Mya : *Old Burmese Alphabet - A Preliminary Study* (in Burmese) Rangoon Govt. Printing, 1961.

difficulty in deciphering those engraved on Webu (mica-schist) stones which were used more frequently in the later period. These are soft stones which cannot withstand the weathering effect of long exposure. This defect was also an asset as its very softness made it a suitable material for the engraving of floral designs with which the 13th century Burman decorated the borders of his inscriptions.

At first rubbings were taken by inking the stone itself and pressing down paper on it. Thus a negative copy of the inscription was made. Therefore the rubbing had to be read through a mirror. This method was improved later: thus a positive copy was obtained.

King Bodawpaya issued an order on 24 July 1793 to make a collection of all available lithic inscriptions because he wished to know the amount of land dedicated to the Religion.[1] He wanted to know the extent of cultivable land in his kingdom which did not yield revenue. Inscription stones were transferred to his capital where they were copied in extenso (*chaṅ,thui:*) or summarised (*cap thui:*). But this was not done scientifically. It is fortunate that the search for stones was not thorough and thus "the stones left *in situ* far exceed in number those collected". Only the smaller stones were removed probably because of transport difficulties. The presence of many fragments at Amarapura suggests that a considerable number of stones were broken in transit. Oral history says that "accidents" during transportation destroyed some big stones because workers employed in their removal did not relish heavy loads. Nevertheless some six hundred stones reached the capital. The king commissioned a few scholars to study them. Among them *Twaṅ:saṅ: Mahā Cañsū* was the most notable. It seems that these scholars did not really attempt to read Mon, Pyu and old Burmese inscriptions correctly. Thus some errors in names and dates went into the chronicle they compiled. In about 1790 *Twaṅ:saṅ*: produced the *Rājawaṅsac* at the king's request. Although U Kala (early 18th. century) had incorporated a few inscriptions in his *Rāja-waṅkrī:* before this *Twaṅ:saṅ*: was the first to use epigraphic material as a historical source. When King Bagyidaw appointed a committee in 1829 to compile a chronicle of the Burmese kings, the committee was aware of the desirability of using inscriptions and it occasionally mentioned discrepencies in dates or details between the old chronicles and some inscriptions

> but they had not the time, the means, or (I am afraid) the courage to collect *all* the inscriptions, to perfect readings and interpretations, and then demolish the jerry-built structure of the chronicles which they had helped to set up.[2]

After the British annexation of Lower Burma, in 1891 Dr Emil Forchhammer was appointed Government Archaeologist and he started collecting, this time, the rubbings of inscriptions. As mentioned above, these first rubbings were in negative and therefore had to be read through a mirror. Perhaps this difficult method is accountable for many omissions and mistakes made in the transcription of these first rubbings. Another serious mistake was the modernisation of the spellings in some cases in the process of the transcription. Dr E. Forchhammer died in 1890 and Taw Sein Ko his successor published the following "six enormous volumes of the elephant size, numbering altogether 2,802 pages".

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1. *Kun:bhoṅ chak*, Mandalay, 1905, p. 662
2. *JBRS*, XXXII, i, 82

1. *The Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, (1892)

2 & 3. *The Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda*, 2 volumes, (1897)

4 & 5. *The Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma*, 2 volumes, (1900 & 1903)

6. *The Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura*, (1913)

These six volume contain about half of the inscription hitherto discovered. A rough translation of volume one by U Tun Nyein appeared in 1899. As the inscriptions were grouped geographically in the above collection, Dr C. Duroiselle, successor to Taw Sein Ko in 1919, gave a chronological list—*A List of Inscriptions Found in Burma*, in 1921 (after Taw Sein Ko : *Index Inscriptionum Birmanicarum*, I, 1900). Old and middle Mon inscriptions were published (with fascimile, transcription, translation and notes) in the series known as *Epigraphia Birmanica* between 1919 and 1936. Except for the Ananda plaques (Volume II by C. Duroiselle) the entire work was done by Professor C.O. Blagden—"A Sherlock Holmes in Epigraphy" who also diciphered some Pyu inscriptions.

After the end of the First World War, the University of Rangoon was founded and its Department of Oriental Studies started to make an independent collection of the rubbings of inscriptions with a view to publishing collotype reproductions first and transcription with translation and notes on them later. Professors Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce were the leading personalities in the movement. Over a hundred new inscriptions were further discovered before the outbreak of the Second World War and their collection was said to be much better than that of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of Burma. As a result of their joint effort a transcription in Burmese of fifty four inscriptions of Pagan entitled *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan* appeared in 1928. The rubbings in their collection are correlated with Duroiselle's *List* wherever possible so that they could be linked with the six "elephant" volumes. They were arranged chronologically after a very severe selection so as to omit all copies (i.e. copies made from stones which are now untraceable) and the publishing of fascimiles started in 1933. Five volumes have been published so far. They are:

Portfolio I *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1131–A.D. 1237

Portfolio II *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1238–A.D. 1268

Fortfolio III *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1269–A.D. 1300 and undated, doubtfully dated and fragments believed to be of the period A.D. 1131–A.D. 1300

Portfolio IV *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1301–A.D. 1340 and some more inscriptions prior to A.D. 1300 whose dates were determined only after the first three portfolios were sent to press.

Portfolio V *Inscriptions of Burma*, A.D. 1341–A.D. 1365

There are 610 plates in these five portfolios. Some of these inscriptions belong to the post-Pagan period, and some are entirely useless as they are either too fragmentary or illegible. Therefore for the purpose of this thesis Professor G. H. Luce made me a selection of about five hundred for which I am extremely greatful. Owing to such faults as omissions,

careless readings and modernization of spelling, the use of the six "elephant" volumes is avoided as much as possible in this thesis.

The Archaeological Survey and the Burma Historical Commission (estb. 1955) are making rubbings of inscriptions and many new inscriptions were discovered by both. During the last few years some books on epigraphy were published. They are:

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INDEX and GLOSSARY

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27 UP. 9-144-1000-23-8-78.

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N

O

31 U.P. 2.144. 1000 23.8.78.

U

V

Y

Z

CORRIGENDA

page	line	for	read
7	40	*Inscripiions in Ceylon*	*Inscriptions in Ceylon*
12	32	assasinated	assassinated
21	5–6	The minister *Aswat* (*?Aśvattāma*) was in his civil duties the *aklaṁ taṅ so maṅ amat*[2] —Royal Register.	The minister *Asawat* (*?Aśvattāma*) was mentioned as *aklwaṁ waṅ so maṅ amat*[2] —an intimate of the King.
23	28–30	Another inscription [3] ...mixed up in politics.[4]	Another inscription[3] mentions that *Kroṅ Siṅghā*, *Randhip* and *Bhummabuil* rebelled. Through the intercession of *Mahāsman* and the pleading of *Nakkabuil*, they were pardoned by King *Klacwā*. For this they gave *Mahāsman* a generous gift of 1500 *pay* at *Dhipesyaṅ*.
23		delete footnote 4	
24	5	cofiscation	confiscation
29	29	Chammers	Chalmers
32	9	Chieng-mien	Chêng-mien
34	16	*Bodhisvattva*	*Bodhisattva*
34	28	tc	to
34	41	governmant	government
35	5	*ñan kla maṅ*	*nan kla maṅ*
35	23	Cheng-mien	Chêng-mien
36	2	*Noṅ U*	*Ñoṅ U*
36	4	*Noṅ U*	*Ñoṅ U*
37	18	*khruin*	*kharuin*
37	18	*tuik*[7] and *tuik*[8].	*tuik*[7] and *tuiṅ*[8]
40	1	distlnction	distinction
40	20	*saṁpyaṅ krī*.[1]	*saṁpyaṅ krī*.[5]
40	25	*3 yok*[2]	*3 yok*[6]
40	29	*Manorāja*[3]	*Manorāja*[7]
40	30	*Manurāja*[4]	*Manurāja*[8]
40	32	*Mahāsaman*[5]	*Mahāsaman*[9]
40	32	*kuiwmhu*[6]	*kuiwmhu*[10]
41	37	as the	as in the
41	38	offical	official
44	11–12	delete the sentence — We find that...Registrar.	
44	34	delete footnote 4	
45	24	*Ṅat Tit Saṅ*	*Ṅa Tit Saṅ*
48	24	*Tarukpilay*	*Tarukpliy*

page	line	for	read
52	45	dlscovered	discovered
55	25	Budhist	Buddhist
57	23	dyansty	dynasty
64	10	*ryapiuiṅ*	*ryaptuiṅ*
64	42	*Ep. Btrm.*	*Ep. Birm.*
65	14	paiting	painting
65	17	paiting	painting
65	37	delete—See Appendix II	
66	20	architectual	architectural
67	3	*Bhūmisparśā mudrā*	*bhūmi sparśa mudrā*
67	4–5	delete—(see illustration)	
70	13	Buddahood	Buddhahood
71	1	*sabaññu*	*sabbaññu*
72	14	forect	forest
81	1	*Milindapanhā*	*Milindapañhā*
81	32	*Nāṇagambhīra*	*Ñāṇagambhīra*
81	35	*Vimalabubdhi*	*Vimalabuddhi*
84	1	said	said:
84	29	*tryā*[3]	*tryā haw*[3]
86	36	Kyoan Thwan:	Kyoau Thwan:
86	39	*Kabvābandasara*	*Kabyābandasāra*
89	2	ordea	ordeal
94	10	*arahā*	*araha*
94	43	*kammavāsā*	*kammavācā*
95	6	*sañlyan*	*sañlyaṅ*
97	9	*Narasiṅga*	*Narasiṅgha*
98	2	*Sañton*	*Sañtoṅ*
99	24	quaters,	quarters
99	35	direciions	directions
100	3	purehased	purchased
101	4	ard	and
101	26	betel flower,	betel, flower,
103	2	lams	lamps
103	22	nut eracker	nut cracker
103	25	manastery	monastery
104	37	*naranīta*	*navanīta*
104	45	idia	idea
105	24	*Sañghāṭi*	*Saṁghāṭī*
105	24	*Uttarasaṅgo*	*Uttarāsaṅgo*
106	35	almsbow	almsbowl
106	36	*sūci*	*sūci*
107	3	*chuṅ*	*chun*
107	15	*skhiu*	*skhiṅ*
120	26	Land	land
120	32	Minnathu	Minnanthu
120	45	*Sacmatī*	*Sacmati*

page	line	for	read
121	31	*saṁpyan*	*saṁpyaṅ*
123	25	*k̄au*	*kan*
124	26	Pegan	Pagan
125	22	most reverend	Most Reverend
126	5	at their	as their
129	12	sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in silver;	sacred banyan tree; the image of the Lord cast in gold; the image of the Lord cast in silver;
129	16	Perched	Parched
129	26	imple	imply
131	40	ther zeal	their zeal
132	5	*Pitakā*	*Piṭaka*
135	31	*klyay*	*klyap*
136	25	*ku*	*kū*
136	30	minium chalk,	minium, chalk,
136	31	*?kyaktaṅuiy*	*kyaktaṅuiy*
138	20	basket of paddy	baskets of paddy
140	5	monartery	monastery
141	10	enshrimed	enshrined
143	11	world	word
143	14	everrbody	everybody
143	22	plessure	pleasure
144	12	*skhin ... thū tuṁi*	*skhiṅ ... lhū tuṁ*
144	16	*Skhlṅ*	*Skhiṅ*
144	18	rutanā	*ratanu*
145	28	dedote	denote
146	2	*nıma*	*ṅīma*
146	29	*Cañsū* I	*Cañsū* II
149	23	*place*	*plac*
150	8	*Siṅhapikraṁ*	*Singhapikraṁ*
150	10	*Siṅhapikraṁ*	*Singhapikraṁ*
151	9	most reverend	Most Reverend
156	18	whenev.r	whenever
157	15	inscriptin	inscription
158	12	*nwa mā*	*nwāma*
160	12	third category	fourth category
161	7	blacksmiths	locksmiths
161	19	quitc	quite
163	13	insches	inches
162	16	*bhaṅ*	*bnaṅ*
166	2	meritious	meritorious
166	34	map,	map.
168	12	trees	tree
169	8	fiingers	fingers
170	12	wrtting	writing

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page	line	for	read
170	19	?1077–89	?1077–84
174	20	(*VTB*, 43, 46)	(*VTB*, I, 43, 46)
179	4	relinquaries	reliquaries
181	3	on the empire.	of the empire.
182	14	*Ba Tra*	*Bȧ: Tra*
184	1	miinisters	ministers
184	12	Desining	Desiring
184	15	May	Mya
184	16	hs	his
187	3–4	*Lāṅ Yāṅ Lan*	*Lāṅ Yaṅ Leṅ*
187	8	*Anantajayabhikrān*	*Anantajayabhikram*
187	15	*Puwa Ānanda,*	*Puwa, Ānanda,*
189	9	the prior to	prior to the
191	2	copid	copied